THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JUNE 1960

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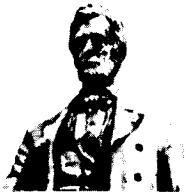

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THE Freeman

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JUNE 1960 Vol. 10 No. 6

LEONARD E. READ *President*, Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

THE FREEMAN is published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., a nonpolitical, nonprofit educational champion of private property, the free market, the profit and loss system, and limited government, founded in 1946, with offices at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Any interested person may receive its publications for the asking. The costs of Foundation projects and services, including THE FREEMAN, are met through voluntary donations. Total expenses average $12.00 a year per person on the mailing list. Donations are invited in any amount — $5.00 to $10,000 — as the means of maintaining and extending the Foundation's work.

Accepted as controlled circulation publication at Irvington, N. Y., with additional entry at New York, N. Y. Copyright, 1960, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. Printed in U.S.A.

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WORLD GOVERNMENT

A Reactionary Disorder

DARRYL W. JOHNSON, JR.

THE ENTHUSIASM (and frequent hysteria) for world government embodies, and is the culmination of, the entire philosophy of collectivism. As such, it is a paragon of false idealism, irrationality, and misconception. It is based primarily on five major erroneous philosophical, logical, and historical assumptions.

Peace by Compulsion?

The first of these is that world government would stop wars and bring peace. It is essential that we adopt the usual meanings of the words "war" and "peace," for if this is not done, we may say that there is perfect peace in Russia. Peaceful slavery, however, is not the kind of peace any of us desire, as illustrated by none other than Franklin Roosevelt when he said, "It is better to die standing up than to live on your knees." In like manner, a "police action" or a "resistance to aggression" or such similar phrases do not make a war not a war. Otherwise, we may eliminate war and create peace by simple semantic expedient. There are types of "peace" in the world today as destructive to the human personality as the atom bomb. Without laboring the point further, it should be obvious that peace is much more than the absence of armed conflict.

Bearing this in mind, history shows, from the failure of the Delian League of ancient Hellas, through the Holy Alliance of 1815, up to the present-day United Nations, that the collective approach to peace is a dismal failure. Since the League of Nations and the U.N., wars have been both more

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Mr. Johnson, a teacher of mathematics, included the remarks here published as part of a visiting lecture in economics (in which he is also certified) at Hialeah Senior High School in Florida.

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frequent and more devastating. World government at best would only transform wars between governments into wars between the government's police force and segments of the empire. And, again with an eye on the world's history, can anyone really believe that a government powerful enough to thus "enforce the peace" would not soon become one of the most corrupt instruments of total power and oppression in the history of man?

The United States constitutes but 1/15 of the earth's surface and 7 per cent of the world's population, yet we are having enough difficulty preserving liberty on this small segment, let alone the whole world. The fact that others would be helping us is of negative value when these others have little or no conception of liberty as we know it in America.

We experience great difficulty electing representatives adequate to deal with *local* problems. Are we to imagine this situation improving with the permanent introduction of *world* problems? How are governments handling world problems these days anyway? Are they doing a fine job – or do we not see that governments unable to tend successfully to their own affairs could not possibly attend to the world's affairs? How odd, when it is so obvious that most of the world's problems are caused by government that we should look to government as a solution.

Minority Control?

The second erroneous belief is that world government would be similar to our own here in the United States, and would not reduce individual freedom. The very philosophy of force which underlies world government and the thinking of its advocates belies this concept. Are not advocates of world government the same people, with extremely few exceptions, who have advocated diminution of States' Rights, stretching of the Constitution, abandonment of the Connally Amendment, and interventionist policies generally? Have not such policies already resulted in the restriction of individual freedom?

Advocates of world government are fond of making a distinction between "human rights" and "property rights." Now, not only are property rights human rights, but no human rights are secure without property rights, as our Founding Fathers so well understood when they revolted in defense of "life, liberty, and property." This is a small sample of the ideological disparity between the philosophers of world government and the architects of the Constitution.

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Government, to be controlled, must be kept near home. As the area of government increases, the area of the individual just as surely decreases.

A brief perusal of the United Nations charter will show that it is as similar to the concept and content of our Constitution as a triangle is to Wednesday. How could we expect otherwise? Most of the world's peoples have never known the free society, its comforts, its securities, its spiritual and ideological background. How could we possibly expect such peoples to create anything faintly resembling the government of the United States? Would the founding of such a government be a popular movement in the sense of the American Revolution, or a movement sponsored and consummated by existing governments, most of which are outright dictatorships?

America can serve the world best by continuing to be a shining example of the fruits of freedom and limited government. Other nations may copy us if they so desire, but for the United States to dilute its philosophy with the rubbish of the world would be to raze the pinnacle of civilization – it would be the greatest of moral crimes – economic, political, and ideological suicide. Nothing could possibly be more reactionary.

Involuntary Brotherhood?

The third fallacy is that world government would bring all men together – the "brotherhood of man." World government would not unite *people* . . . it would merely unite the *governments* at the expense of the people. Unified trouble would hardly mean *less* trouble. And why *should* we all unite, politically or any other way, as long as we follow the golden rule and keep our noses out of places where they are not wanted? As Cobden said, the key to peace lies in "as much intercourse as possible between the *peoples* of the world . . . as little as possible between the *governments* of the world."

Brotherhood based on compulsion is not brotherhood any more than government subsidy is charity. If compulsion is not necessary for it, then we will have brotherhood without world government. A brief consultation with the dictionary will show that every definition of brotherhood implies the concept of voluntarism, nearness, and a relationship between one individual and another. It may be argued, rightly or wrongly, that the Christian concept modifies the principle of nearness and expands the relationship to exist between one individual and *all* men, but it is still a problem for the individual; it is still voluntary, and most

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important, men are to be brothers under *God,* not under world government.

What Can We Lose?

The fourth error lies in the belief that whatever we would have to give up for world government would be well worth it. Let us see what we have, that we may know what might have to be given up.

We have a country with the oldest written constitution in the world, a country whose freedom has been so universal that our greatest danger is that people will take it for granted; a country which produces nearly 50 per cent of the world's goods, and provides therefore, the only possible bases for security, charity, literature, the arts, sciences – all the finer things of life. All this we have, and more than volumes could tell, yet we are asked to give up part or parcel of our hard won and well-deserved heritage to avoid being called "chauvinistic." The desire to retain the proven success of America in preference to that which experience shows to be a failure is simple common sense. Such desire is hardly based on a "misunderstanding of the purposes and functions of world government," as so many social studies texts state. Such texts, incidentally, discretely refrain from clearing up these "misunderstandings" by a thorough discussion of just how and why a world government would work.

At best, we are asked to forego a tangible success for something, as Shakespeare said, "full of sound and fury . . . signifying nothing."

Freedom without Individuality?

The last, and most remarkable doctrine in the world government repertoire, is that world government is essential for social progress to overcome our "cultural lag" and catch up with the tremendous advances in science and technology. This is like saying that it is essential to jump into the water that we may keep dry. It is an argument which illustrates the peculiar blindness to both logic and fact which seems to be the exclusive province of the contemporary collectivist. It is a classic non sequitur.

If one were requested to compile a list of the great achievements of civilization, such a list would be associated with great individuals, from Solomon to Jesus, Plato to Santayana, Galileo to Einstein, Haydn to Wagner. No one seems to believe that the "Mona Lisa" could have been painted by a committee. Certain phases of human endeavor, especially science and technology, seem to have been blessed by society's realization that achievement in

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these fields must be individual in character. The entire history of scientific and technological progress is the history of individuals, from Euclid to Ford. Progress has been accelerated by the division of labor – the individualization of effort and responsibility. There have been great advances in all areas where responsibility has been kept closest to the individual. To miss this point is to miss the story of liberty and one of history's most important lessons.

As John Chamberlain so aptly perceives in a statement backed up by Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law:* "Individualism belongs to the maturity of the race, not to its beginnings."[1]

If social scientists are really anxious to secure governmental harmony, they will abandon their irrational fear of liberty and extend the principle of individuation to all phases of human relations. The American Constitution was the first utilization of this principle – placing the responsibility for government upon the individual first, the community second, the state third, and the central government last. While it is important to know that the Constitution limited government, it is equally important to realize that this limitation applied almost exclusively to the *central* government. Such limitation is the only possible way to secure self-government, for a man cannot be expected to assume responsibilities with which he is not charged.

Arguments to the effect that "the world is smaller now" miss the point if they are used to justify *governmental* remedies. Professor Burgess, over 37 years ago, refuted this idea and the claim that we should therefore abandon our historic policy of nonintervention. He stated, "This claim rests upon the very serious error that world intercourse and world interchange of the elements of civilization require *political* interference and intermeddling. This is not only false, but it is so false as to be highly mischievous and harmful. Outside of this lies the whole free realm of trade, commerce, science, literature, art, and social relations, things which bring all parts of the world together in friendly and helpful interchange, while political intermeddling almost always provokes hatred, enmity and war. . . .

"The freedom of individual thought and expression, of individual initiative and invention,

[1] Chamberlain, John. *The Roots of Capitalism.* New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1959. p. 60. Also consult the first six chapters of Sylvester Petro's *The Labor Policy of The Free Society,* (New York: Ronald Press, 1957), which contain as brilliant a discussion of government and freedom as may be found anywhere.

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and the free interchange of the results of these great spiritual forces, are the powers which make for civilization both local, national, and universal, while governmental interference through its orders, commands, directions, limitations, punishments, and wars has done much to restrain rather than always to advance the world's true prosperity."[2]

The miraculous success of the American experiment in individuation and self-government, plus the tragic history of collectivist palliatives should be enough to convince anyone that the road to world government is the road to reaction. Each step along this road turns the clock back hundreds of years.

It is true that man does not always govern himself perfectly, but he can hardly be expected to learn and to progress by being deprived of the opportunity to do so. If the fruits of decentralized government cannot dispel forever the foggy vision of world-wide, central control, then one can only wonder if man is doomed to repeat a large segment of painful history for not having learned from it the first time. Unity and peace will come only as man changes from within – not as governments seek to force man to change from without. Our greatest task is to see that man has the opportunity for such change. ◆

[2] Burgess, John W., *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*. Columbia University Press, 1923. pp. 12-13.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

A Paternalistic Government

IN ANCIENT Greece Pericles inaugurated the feeding of the people out of the public treasury. A hundred years later Plato found that he had so completely debauched the Athenians that they were reduced to pauperism. Instead of working, they hung around the market place gossiping, and their characters were so weakened that the State was forced to hire barbarians to defend it from invasion. A paternalistic government is bound to destroy the self-reliance and self-respect of the people. When those attributes go, everything goes. Those are the virtues which have made our country great and those virtues alone will keep us great.

SENATOR THOMAS P. GORE, on the day Congress closed in 1934

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An Insurance executive examines Social Security and other manifestations of the "Welfare State" and explains why . . .

J. EDWARD DAY

We Can't Afford It!

AS the new decade dawned, we saw many predictions of the bold new things needed for the surging population of the sixties. There was mention, of course, of new plants and facilities to provide new jobs, of more homes, and of more new products to go with those homes. But where in another era this awakening to rapid growth ahead might have meant expanded farm output, new rail lines, more steel capacity, and the like – financed in the past by private capital – the top needs now emphasized are highways, schools, airports, rapid transit, water resources, public housing for the elderly, more hospital beds, more capacity in colleges and universities, space research, "closing the missile gap," aid to underdeveloped countries – all of which must be financed in whole or to a predominant degree by *public* funds.

We are used to hearing it said that even though a certain program might be *desirable* for adoption by a city, county, or state government, the particular government unit simply can't afford it. Each of us is familiar with situations where local governments have "made do" with older public buildings, or with something less than perfection in quality of services, pay levels for public employees, and modernization of streets, sewers, and schools.

There have always been those, of course, who insisted the federal government could not afford this or that new or expanded program. But the fact that the federal government can go hugely into debt without voter approval of bond issues (states and cities usually can't), has made the ceiling on federal spending highly flexible. So on federal spending, those who

Mr. Day is Vice-president of The Prudential Insurance Company of America.

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could make a good case for "desirability" could almost always prevail over those who asked, "Where's the money coming from?" For the federal money was always forthcoming – even if it meant, as in fiscal 1958-59, a $12 billion deficit in a peacetime year.

Suddenly, at a time when pressure for public spending at all government levels was never greater, the day of reckoning has arrived. Eighty billion dollars of the federal debt must be refinanced in 1960 at a time when 5 per cent federal bonds have appeared on the scene for all to see. All at once we hear about "gold drain" and "deficit in international payment balances" and even "flight from the dollar." Getting federal spending and debt under control is no longer a matter of argument – it is a crystal clear necessity.

Near term federal tax reduction seems less and less a sensible possibility. State and local taxes seem bound to continue their upward climb. The theory that the federal government was going to confine itself to certain kinds of taxation and the state and local governments were going to confine themselves to others, has proved to be just that: a theory. State income taxes (with ever higher rates), school district income taxes, and city payroll taxes are competing for the same net earnings dollar as the federal income tax. And by 1969 the Social Security tax, even to support the program as it now stands, will be 9 per cent of taxable payroll – with half to come from the employee (and not deductible from the employee's federal income tax).

We have to face up to our *total* needs for future spending at *all* levels of government, assign priorities among programs and projects, do some major retrenching in existing public programs to preserve solvency, and *then* decide whether we can afford to open the door to a vastly expensive, expansive federally financed health care program.

The Forand Bill would amend the Social Security Act to provide broad hospital, nursing home, and surgical benefits for all persons – already 13.7 million – receiving payments from the Social Security program. This group includes not just those men over 65 and women over 62 who are entitled to benefits, but also widows with children under 18, and totally disabled persons entitled to benefits and their beneficiaries.[1]

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[1] Editor's Note: What may have happened with regard to the Forand Bill by the time this article appears in print is anyone's guess. But there need be no doubt about the economic consequences of any such political measure.

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To provide the benefits proposed to the limited group described would cost over $2 billion the first year and between $6 billion and $8 billion by 1980. It would mean that Social Security costs would increase by 26 per cent on a long term basis. Where Social Security will cost nearly 9 per cent of payroll by 1969, just as it now stands, the Forand Bill would bring the over-all cost to 11 per cent of taxable payroll.

What is more, (1) the Forand Bill, if enacted, is bound to be only a "first step" to an enormously expanded and still more expensive federal health care program, (2) invariably these publicly financed health care plans (such as in England and Canada) have cost far more than was estimated when they were proposed, (3) other expensive liberalizations of the Social Security program are in the offing, (4) the Social Security program as it now stands may be so badly underfinanced that major tax increases may be needed just to pay for benefits already promised.

No Further Leeway

Let us face up to another new fact of life that has overtaken us fairly recently. Where in the past our federal government had a large amount of leeway, through deficit spending and increased debt, to conduct a crash spending program in case of war or depression, the leeway is now gone. In view of our situation on federal borrowing difficulties, it is clear we are gambling there will be no international blow-up and no economic blow-up.

If we did have either, the money would have to come from practically confiscatory tax increases superimposed upon the wartime tax levels we have continued into peacetime.

Present-day taxpayers will find it ironic to be told that government financial leeway exists only in still higher federal taxes. But that is the sad fact. And even that weak reed, that inadequate leeway, is being weakened still further by rising Social Security tax rates. Social Security taxes must come out of the same pie (i.e., tax base) as taxes for missiles, federal debt service, highways, schools, city police, county jails, or whatever. For obviously 100 per cent of the public's earnings is the *whole* tax source pie: the complete, final, nonexpandable tax base, no matter what the tax or the tax purpose or the taxing entity is called. It doesn't help to say that Social Security taxes are "special purpose" or "not in the federal budget." Except for a capital levy (an unthinkable device) all taxes, no matter what they are called or where they are budgeted, have to

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come out of earnings of the public.

Many have a mistaken belief that Social Security is a savings plan, with the payroll taxes saved up to provide for the employee's future benefits. The fact is that Social Security is a pay as you go plan – or, more accurately, an *under* pay as you go plan.

We have graciously provided that employees of 1969 shall pay a 4½ per cent rate for the benefits for which employees of 1959 paid 2½ per cent (3 per cent beginning with 1960).

The Social Security Trust Fund is in fact only a contingency reserve. Some estimates, based on the existing program, say the Trust Fund will be used up entirely by the year 2000. But, big as the Trust Fund seems, it would have to be *three times* as big as it now is just to pay future benefits to the 13.7 million people *already* on the benefit rolls. And other tens of millions are qualified to become new recipients in the future.

Already we are postponing the evil day on paying for the present Social Security benefit structure. When it comes to the multibillion dollar addition to the structure proposed by the Forand Bill – we can't afford it!

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Worth Repeating

A CRASH ATTACK on the major problems of health suits our impatient culture. But those who might be commissioned to do the research know that it is poor strategy. At present we are more limited by the state of general scientific knowledge than by want of specific instruments or difficulties in engineering . . . Historically the method of uncommitted wondering has been the source of major ideas. From the confusion of detail general principles emerge – not because they are summoned for some crash program but because they are already latent in the facts that are available . . . Obviously we, in various specialties, and the public at large *have a common interest in seeing that a substantial base of scholarship is supported in its own right and not as an instrument in achieving some popular goal* . . . It may indeed be proven by history that ignorance and folly were greater evils than cholesterol or cancer.

VINCENT P. DOLE, M.D., *On Crash Programs*

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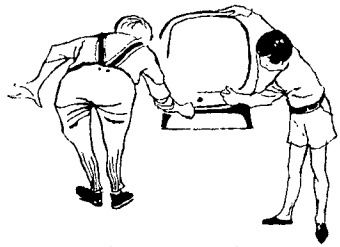
TAX CONSCIOUSNESS



or — HERITAGE OF THE WELFARE STATE

It was a sunny afternoon
At story-telling time.
Old Kaspar clipped a fresh cigar
And spiked his rum-and-lime,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Looked at the futurama screen.

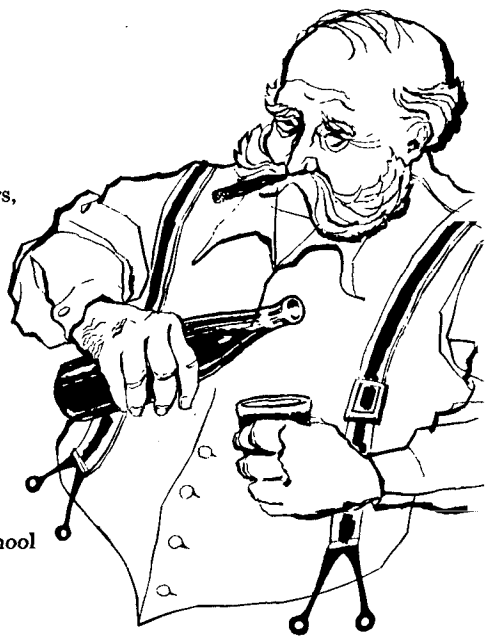
They saw a street where men and boys
Were sleeping in the shade
Or drifting slowly in the sun
Along the esplanade;
While merchants leaned against the doors,
As idle as their empty stores.

"Are all those men and boys on strike?"
The little children cried.
"It is a sort of *wildcat* strike,"
Old Kaspar soon replied,
"Against the yoke the Welfare State
Inflicts on people born too late."

"A Welfare State," said Kaspar then,
"Builds pyramids of debt.
It leaves a trail of unfilled claims
And bills it never met.
It keeps ahead of bankruptcy
By mortgaging Posterity."

"Those youngsters quit their work or school
When they became aware
That paying off colossal debt
Is all that's left to share.
Their lives began so late, you see,
That they comprise Posterity."

"Who'll pay the debt," asked Peterkin,
"If all the youngsters balk?"
"We'll hold that question," Kaspar sighed,
"Until the Planners talk.
Perhaps the foreign friends we've made
Will bail us out with grants-in-aid."



H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist at Fayetteville, Arkansas

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FEATHERBEDDING

A Way of Life

LEONARD E. READ

THAT'S a helluva way to run a railroad! – a common expression directed at actions patently absurd.

This colloquialism might not have stemmed from the economic absurdities imposed on American railroads, but it surely applies to that industry in this nation today.[1] The absurdities here in question are popularly alluded to as "featherbedding." For instance:

The railroads are forced to hire "firemen" who tend no fires on push-button locomotives.

A railroad in Oregon recently was required to pay each member of a yard crew 32 hours' wages for 11½ hours of work. For this same job, it later had to pay three days' *additional* wages for a second crew that did no work whatever, yet claimed "it should" have been called to do it.

Eight engine crews are required on the 16-hour run of a famous name passenger train between New York and Chicago.

When a contractor used his own self-propelled railroad crane in the construction of the Prudential Building in Chicago, work rules required a railroad to furnish an engineer as "pilot," even though the crane was operating on an unused track.

A westbound freight makes a stop every day at the North Dakota border, not to pick up cars but to take on a third brakeman. Two brakemen are enough in Minnesota, but North Dakota has an "excess crew" law and requires another completely surplus man. Just over the Montana line, the train stops and lets the unnecessary brakeman off. Two brakemen are again enough across Montana

[1] According to *Time:* "When Rock Island railroadmen complained about their corncob-filled caboose mattresses half a century ago, the trainmaster chided, 'What do you want – feather beds?' Since then featherbedding – the term loosely coined from this incident to describe the purposeful spreading out of work to make jobs – has become an emotion-packed point of dispute between U.S. management and labor in a broad spectrum of industries."

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and Idaho — but as the train nears the Washington border, a third brakeman once more is added since Washington also has a long-outmoded excess-crew law.

The above are only random samples of union inspired featherbedding — as obviously absurd to the layman as they are disgusting to the economist. Such practices, in railroading alone, according to The American Association of Railroads, cost $1,500,000 each day![2]

American railroads, however, are not the only sufferers from this affliction. A person intimately familiar with the construction industry could detail the featherbedding in that important segment of our economy. An individual who knows the entertainment business could describe the orchestras paid for not playing, the stage hands "employed" to do nothing, the electricians drawing checks for hours of idleness, *ad nauseam*. Similar to elevator operators getting paid for not operating automatic elevators! Or, bogus typesetting![3] The list of these labor union "accomplishments" is staggering.

Accurate Definition Needed

What, in essence, is this thing called featherbedding? The definition in my desk dictionary must have been written by a devotee of "the new economics": "The practice of limiting work or output in order to provide more jobs and prevent unemployment."[4]

Here is a more picturesque as well as a more accurate definition of featherbedding: *The bedding down of self with feathers coercively taken from others and with nothing whatever given in exchange.*

With this figurative but otherwise accurate definition in mind, it is appropriate to examine the scope of this practice. Is featherbedding accepted and sponsored by labor unions alone? Or are others equally guilty? Is featherbedding becoming more and more a way of life in our country? If so, maybe some of us who are concerned about the motes in the eyes of labor leaders should look to the beams in our own eyes, lest we find ourselves in the awkward posi-

[2] Interestingly enough, this is about the daily cost of another featherbedding practice: storing of the surplus farm commodities built up by the government's price-support program.

[3] Today, many advertisements come to newspapers in mats, sent by the agencies. The typesetters, however, are not to be done out of their wage. They set duplicate advertisements in type, run off proofs, proofread their handiwork and, then, promptly knock down the type!

[4] No one needs a degree in economics to understand that featherbedding does not provide jobs. Simply imagine everybody being hired to produce nothing. Further, to regard payment for doing nothing as a job is to rob the word of its meaning. "Jobbery" is the right word for this.

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tion of the pot that called the kettle black.

What about the farmers who receive hundreds of millions of dollars annually for not growing things? Are they not being bedded down with "feathers" coercively taken from the rest of us?

What about the people in the Tennessee Valley who get their power and light at below-cost rates? There's a multimillion dollar deficit each year, which the rest of us are forced to make up. Aren't these people being bedded down with "feathers" coercively taken from the rest of us?

And the manufacturer who stays in business by having a tax imposed upon his competitors' products? Is this any less featherbedding than labor union outlawing of spray painting in order to compel a continuance of the more expensive and time consuming brush painting?

Examine the federal budget – as "wordy" as Manhattan's Telephone Directory – for thousands upon thousands of examples of resort to the Marxian ideal, "From each according to ability, to each according to need"! Subsidies for travel by plane or bus or ships at sea, farm price supports, federal subventions to states or districts or communities, tariffs, or whatever – all are examples of featherbedding, just as absurd as "firemen" drawing wages on push-button diesels.

Political Jobbery

If anyone doubts that featherbedding is the "new" way of life in these United States, then let him carefully examine the platform of the two major political parties as they emerge from this summer's conventions. Each will try to out-do the other's promise of free-feathers-for-all, meanwhile minimizing the fact that you-know-who will be plucked in the process. And, at the same time, each will pay fervent lip service to the American way of life, personal responsibility, private enterprise, lower taxes, and an end to inflation.

This sort of political double talk will go on as long as it is marketable, as long as the current naivete among the citizenry persists; or, conversely, until more vote leaders than now recognize featherbedding, not only in its labor union form but in all its other forms, for precisely what it is – political jobbery. ◆

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THE FOUNDATION OF THE

HAROLD E. SCHLICHTING, JR.

THE FREE way of life rests upon the conviction that men are freely willing creatures with the capacity to choose between alternatives. Freedom of the will is man's primordial liberty, the fountainhead from which every other freedom stems. The free way of life is not simply the absence of arbitrary, external controls – the absence of outside bondage reflects and implements man's inner liberty. We favor the free society because every variety of totalitarian order violates the demands of man's nature. But if free will is an illusion, as many contemporary philosophers assert, we cannot complain about the massive denial of free choice which is a collectivist society. Totalitarianism is the end result of the denial of inner liberty, however much determinists may disavow this ultimate consequence of their position.

Dr. Schlichting is an Independent Research Biologist at Port Sanilac, Michigan.

The question of determinism or free will is a philosophical matter, but determinists frequently base their case on what they regard as the scientific method.

A distinguished British scientist, the late Sir F. S. Taylor, states the position as follows: "Science finds no evidence of free will in matter and energy.... Matter and energy, however organized, have no free will. So, if man consists of nothing else than matter and energy, then man has no free will. The materialist, like everyone else, has the experience of free will and acts as if he were free, for no one could live without doing so; but he regards this sensation of free will as an illusion."[1] Thus we are not really free; we only think we are!

According to Freud, "No act is uncaused and the illusion of free

[1] Taylor, F. S., *The Fourfold Vision.* London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1946. p. 58.

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will simply comes from the fact that some of our motives are unconscious."[2]

Dr. E. G. Boring of Harvard University goes further, saying that "freedom, when you believe it is operating, always resides in an area of ignorance. If there is a known law, you do not have freedom. . . . Both freedom and chance are terms that are used when efficient causes of present events are not known and often appear unknowable."[3] This is another way of saying that our concept of free will is due to our ignorance! He adds that belief in human freedom is merely "a useful superstition" but concludes "to get rid of this concept would change the whole of our civilization."

Obviously, the despots of today, as of yesterday, are attempting to annihilate the concept of free will. If the basic pillars of our civilization can be shaken, their hope is that the house will crumble. In fact, denial of free will has been the basis for *all* totalitarian systems and their power over men!

The arguments against free will may be grouped into the following major categories:

1. All of our actions are determined by our body chemistry and interrelated past experiences; they are determined according to the laws of physics and chemistry.
2. No act is uncaused and free will is an illusion.
3. The belief in free will is due to ignorance of antecedent causes.
4. The question of free will vs. determinism is unanswerable.

Morality Depends on Choice

It would require a book to explore all of the consequences of these propositions. However, three of these seem most apparent to me. First, for people living by the Judeo-Christian concept of life, free will is essential. The disobedience of the first man to God and its consequences presupposes free will.

An outstanding American geneticist, Dr. T. Dobzhansky, made the following comments: "Ants and termites are neither heroes when they defend their own nests, nor villains when they rob those of their neighbors. They are devoid of virtues and vices because they lack the freedom to decide between possible alternative courses of action. . . . Insect behavior is, then, not reducible to a common ethical measure with human actions. Praise and blame have meaning only in connection

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[2] McClelland, D. C. "Freud and Hull: Pioneers in Scientific Psychology," *American Scientist*, 45:101-13. 1957.

[3] Boring, E. G. "When Is Human Behavior Predetermined?" *The Scientific Monthly*. pp. 189-196. April 1957.

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with acts in which the individual is at least to some extent a free agent. . . . Moral rightness or wrongness have meaning only in connection with persons who are free agents, and who are consequently able to choose between different ideas and between possible courses of action. Ethics presupposes freedom. . . . Ethics, as such, have no genetic basis and are not the product of biological evolution."[4] Thus for the determinists who base their philosophy upon genetics and evolution, there actually is *no* ethical system for them to adopt!

Second, our entire judicial system is premised upon the existence of free will; man is presumed responsible for his actions. There could be no moral law and order without it. The act of justice is to give each man his due and is preceded by an act whereby something becomes his due. Therefore, one's right must precede justice! As Josef Pieper, a noted philosopher, has stated, "We cannot state the basis of a Right and hence a judicial obligation, unless we have a concept of man, of human nature."[5] If in truth there is no distinctly human nature, then there can be no human rights or justice. This is the formal justification for every exercise of totalitarian power. The existence of free will is essential to this concept of human nature upon which our justice is based.

Third, there could be no virtue because virtue is a state of character concerned with choice. If the latter is taken away, there is no way for goodness to assert itself.

Judeo-Christian Foundations

These three, Judeo-Christian belief, justice, and virtue, are all interrelated in our western civilization. They are the basis for our civilization, and it is obvious that our way of life, as we have known it, cannot exist if we accept the teaching of those who contend that there is no free will.

This is not a one-sided argument. Contrary to many modern teachings, the concept of free will is supported by numerous philosophers. Unfortunately, most of them are dead! It is auspicious, however, that their ideas "live" on. Even though ignored or defamed, the materialists have not succeeded in destroying them.

The question of freedom is one of the most difficult, most rewarding, and most pressing in metaphysics. For a thinker of the stature of Descartes it was free

[4] Dobzhansky, T. *The Biological Basis of Human Freedom.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. pp. 93-94, 132.

[5] Pieper, J. *Justice.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1955. pp. 1-24.

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will alone or liberty of choice which he declared to be so great an idea that he could conceive no other to be superior.

"Free Will" Defined

What do we mean by free will? We may use Webster's definition as a starting point: "Free will: Unhampered or uncoerced choice. The doctrine that human beings are not controlled in their choices by physically or divinely imposed necessity." Free will cannot, of course, be expressed under coercion or irrationality by its very definition.

To concede that the free will question is unanswerable, is really not to confront the problem at all. For one meets problems and must make decisions throughout his entire life; to do otherwise would be to merely vegetate! It would be extremely inconsistent if a person lives part of the time as if he were truly free and at other times as if he were not free at all.

To state that no act is uncaused and that therefore free will is an illusion is to misunderstand the free will position. The proponents of free will *do not* claim that their actions are *uncaused* but that the individual causes them from within. Indeterminism is the untenable view that events are not caused. Advocates of free will are not materialistic determinists; they believe that the laws of chemistry and physics do not apply to the will and intellect – these being nonmaterial entities.

Those who would have us believe that free will is due only to our ignorance are merely stating that in the final analysis it is an illusion. Some men are more ignorant than others and this ignorance in a sense makes them less free. This fact, however, does not nullify the concept of free will.

Dr. Etienne Gilson, a scholastic philosopher, proposes that man is both free and determined, i.e., man is free to choose the means to the end but is not free to choose the end itself. In "choosing the means to the end," Gilson writes, "the choice is free beyond all doubt. Man indeed does not choose his end; necessarily he wants to be happy merely on account of his nature as man; but various routes to happiness lie open, and he is free to choose what seems to him the best for the purpose."[6] Human happiness is the determined end for all men because of their very nature; man cannot will to be unhappy! All particular decisions are directed toward this end. Since choice is not concerned with the end but with the means to it, man does not choose of necessity but

[6] Gilson, Etienne. *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. pp. 319-321.

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freely. Free will implies the power to choose a good or poor means to an end depending on the rationality of the individual and his desires for what he believes will bring happiness. He may choose any of a multitude of possibilities for obtaining his happiness.

The Responsible Individual

The truth of free will can only be discovered and proven within ourselves! Why did I choose to do a certain act? I chose it as a means to some end which may be called the attainment of my happiness. Thus, I am self-directing and I believe it because there is no conclusive evidence to the contrary.

Frank Chodorov in his "Free Will and the Marketplace" (THE FREEMAN, January 1959) stated: "Many persons who would abolish free choice in the market place, logically conclude that man is not endowed with free will, that free will is a fiction, that man is merely a product of his environment. This premise ineluctably leads them to denial of the soul and, of course, the denial of God." Every truly great man has risen above his environment! He not merely comes from it, as a part, but he adds to it. Society has its impact on man but it must also be remembered that men have their impact on society. Actually, they make it what it is! This fact is forgotten in this age of socialization.

Body chemistry and our past experiences are certainly important in influencing our choice of action. They allow for our selection of alternatives but they do not determine them. Our past experiences and bodily chemistry "set the stage" for the operation of our intellect and will to make a choice from genuine alternatives of action. However, the intellect and will are "actors" which do not have to follow the script! Our behavior in carrying out some action we have decided upon as a means to achieve our end, is subject to physical-chemical laws, biological coordination, and our reason. Because a series of choices in your past influences your present choice, one cannot say that you were determined to choose as you did due to your past experiences. It has not been proven that your past experiences are determined. This materialistic determinism is only an assumption of those who do not believe in free will.

Injection of "truth serum" and physical violence can narrow the alternatives between which a choice is possible. But one is still free to go counter to this coercion even until irrationality or unconsciousness results. As the martyrs of history have shown, men, in fact, have resisted these forces

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and have given up their lives rather than to select the alternative choice. By their very suffering and death support is given to the concept that man has free will. Chemical, physical, and psychological forces do not rob man of his free will. When one does submit to force of any kind, it does not mean that he does not have free will but that the freedom of action is denied to him!

Some would claim the martyrs could not have done otherwise, that they had to suffer and die because of their past experiences. It is easy and natural to choose nonsuffering but very difficult and indeed against our materialistic nature to choose suffering. The materialist, logically, could not be an intentional martyr. Certainly, there have been no martyrs for the stand against man's freedom!

Material and Spiritual

For most of us man has both a material and a spiritual nature fused into one being. Man's spiritual nature is not physically determined; man develops his moral nature based upon both the material and the spiritual aspects. The spiritual aspect can be demonstrated to exist empirically by the very behavior of men themselves. For example, the Gene Theory is important in biology because it explains, in part, the transmission of traits passed from parents to offspring. The truth of this theory is based upon its empirical verification and its predictive value. Similarly, the Judeo-Christian concept of life is important because it explains, in part, the whole nature of man, his origin, and destiny. The truth of this concept is based upon empirical verification (i.e., behavior) and its predictive value for man in attaining happiness. Both the Gene Theory and the Judeo-Christian concept of life go beyond empiricism itself to an over-all explanation of reality. Some scientists accept the first but reject the second proposition!

In his explanation of man the materialist reduces man to one aspect of his nature, and then uses this part in his attempt to explain the whole. As far as most thoughtful persons are concerned materialism has not been successful in explaining man. In fact, they have not as yet given a satisfactory explanation of the basic tenet of their belief, namely, matter.

Overcoming Adversities

Human freedom does not mean that we can do anything we wish; it means that we can do some things we wish, and it is very important to know what those things are. Free will can be limited only in the carrying out of actions; there being no thought control as

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yet in the free world, as set forth in Orwell's *1984*. Of course, there are some events which happen to us through no choice of our own. These may be due to natural catastrophies or the decisions of others. Our birth and usually our death are not of our own free choosing; yet their occurrence does not invalidate our concept of free will. The following may limit our free actions:

1. Our native intelligence, which is hereditary.
2. Our total experiences in life, which are environmental and fall into three main restrictions:
   a. Faulty education
   b. Socialism (where human relationships are coerced)
   c. Poverty (If the essentials necessary to sustain life are lacking, our behavior is influenced but not determined)

   Nevertheless, our free will still operates even under the most adverse conditions. The act of free choice is an act of both the will and intellect. The acknowledgment of these nonmaterial entities is essential to our free way of life. According to Gilson, "wherever there is intelligence there is free will; and the more intelligence there is by so much is there more liberty." Perhaps an explanation as to why some persons do not believe in free will is implied in the preceding quotation.

Much more has been and can be written on the concept of free will and its importance to our way of life. It is one of those fundamental truths which must constantly be pondered anew, lest inferior and even untrue propositions replace them. It is up to *each individual* in the free world to safeguard these truths upon which our freedom is based. ◆

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Importance of Virtue

IT WILL BE WORTHY of a free, enlightened, and . . . great Nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. . . . Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address*

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Why I Returned to My Job

W. L. HUNTER

Editor's Note: Refusal by the Stereotypers Union to bargain on key issues led to strike action on November 10, 1959, against the daily newspapers of Portland, Oregon. Subsequently, several members of the Portland Newspaper Guild defied union leaders and returned to their jobs. Among them was W. L. (Larry) Hunter, a copyreader for the *Oregon Journal* for more than 15 years. His explanation — along with others — was published jointly by *The Oregonian* and *Oregon Journal* in a special issue of "Strike Facts."

IT IS MORE difficult for me to explain why I waited so long to return to work — five weeks — than to tell why I returned. However, it boils down to conformity. One dislikes to be set apart from his fellows, even if he thinks they are wrong, however earnestly.

Although I voted against strike at every opportunity and made my position clear to fellow union members by speaking in meetings and out against the strike, I delayed my return, hoping every day that my union would see things more clearly, would return as a group — or at least make an offer to do so.

Illustration: Ewing Galloway, New York

When it became obvious that no such course would be followed, I determined to act as an individual. Naturally, I was pleased that several others had acted in concert.

In the first place, I never thought the strike had valid reasons. Having decided that, I could hardly think it right for my union to back the dissidents, purely on the premise that, unless we did, we could expect no reciprocal aid at some later time when we might want to strike, perish the thought.

In the second place, it took only a day or two of publication to prove to all concerned that the

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strike was a strategic failure. A strike is to shut something down. This one never did. While it is wonderful to be right, it is no disgrace to be wrong – provided one is intelligent enough to admit it, and act to right the wrong.

From a personal standpoint I considered the two sides. On one hand I had loyalty to my family, to my contracts with creditors, to my union's contract with my employers, to my own personal welfare, and to my employers, who had always been kind and in addition – through a period of my bad health – had been generous to the point that I was ashamed of myself for being aligned against them.

On the other hand, I was faced by the preachments of unionism, that one must always be loyal to all other members of his union, and to all other unions, even though he hardly knows many of the individuals, does not know others at all, thoroughly disagrees with many, and opposes the principles for which many of them stand.

I could not quite swallow the premise that my always friendly employers – now known with some mysterious opprobrium as "management" – had suddenly become an ogre, and, on the other hand, anybody carrying any union card automatically was a plaster saint.

False Propaganda Spread

The transparent falseness of union propaganda was during the strike and now, embarrassing to me. The other day a college boy of my acquaintance said to me, "Well, one thing you'll have to admit is that the Guild got vacations for you."

What rot! Somebody told him that and he believed it. But we had vacations before there ever was a vote on the American Newspaper Guild by any *Journal* employee. Granted: Negotiations have figured in obtaining a third week of vacation.

The unions condemn management for strike insurance (if it exists) but point with pride to their own half-billion-dollar war fund for the purpose of sustaining strikes.

How is it fair for one, and not for the other?

Unions gladly accept the fruits of inflation, pay raises, benefits of all sorts, but refuse to take any of the blame for inflation.

In this strike, particularly, the unions have put on an intensive campaign to damage the reputation and circulation of the newspapers, yet they say they want to return to work in those plants.

The union press trumpets about the neighborliness of the men out on strike, while some of those same men and their representatives are

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spitting at workers, knocking them down, kicking them while they are down, and calling them names.

I wear a hearing aid. One woman sympathizer of the strike, in the presence of some of my erstwhile friends, thrust her face into mine at the door of *The Oregonian* plant and told me that she hoped I lost the hearing in my other ear.

That's neighborliness?

He's Not "Imported"

Mind you, I'm no "imported strikebreaker." I've worked for the *Oregon Journal* since March 8, 1944. Since 1948 I've been a home owner, always at the same Northeast Portland address. I've paid my bills, most of them nearly on time.

Union men tried to dissuade me from returning to work. They said they had worked in nonunion plants elsewhere and had been mistreated. Perhaps so. But any of them who says he or his union was mistreated in *The Journal* plant simply is not telling the truth.

There is leeway on time off, on days off, on hours of schedule, and on other factors of *Journal* employment that would make half the other workmen in Portland green with envy, union or nonunion.

I found that, while staying out on strike was painted with a glow of courage, it actually was smudged with fear. First, there was fear my union would be denied support of other unions unless it backed all other unions in a strike. Second, there was fear the act of striking had alienated the employers to the point where union members could not expect jobs or anything else but abuse unless the strike was fought to a bitter end.

I simply did not believe that.

I called a representative of my employer and found that I was right. I was welcomed back to work, as would have been as many others as could have been used in the emergency operation that had been forced upon management by the strike.

I decided this strike was no mere incident in a series of bluff-and-yield labor negotiations. It seemed to me historic. Management had been pushed to the point where it could afford to yield no further. Whether I like it or not, I am in an economic circumstance where I must work for a living. It was a case of a very real job or a dubious union theory.

Strike Is "Suicidal"

Naturally, I regret that more of the workers have not returned. Some of them are fine craftsmen. I hate to see many of them jeopardize their jobs and lose their foot-

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holds in a community which some of them undoubtedly love as much as I do.

But I could go along no further in a suicidal denial of responsibility. While I respect the history of unions and grant that some (but only some) of the benefits I now enjoy are due to union negotiation, I cannot accept unionism as a creed, something to be worshipped.

I cannot close my eyes to the fact that there would be nothing to negotiate, if it were not for management's investment that makes jobs possible.

It seems strange to me that in America we are permitted to choose our own church, or abstain from religion if we so desire; we can pass freely across the borders of municipalities or states without permission; but we cannot cross a picket line established arbitrarily by a union.

We can vote for any candidate for public office whom we favor or belong to any political party without question, but we are expected to subscribe to pre-ordained union principles and pay tribute to them if we want to work.

I object to that. And I work to sustain my objections. ◆

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Voluntarism

I WANT TO URGE DEVOTION to the fundamentals of human liberty – the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible . . .

SAMUEL GOMPERS, first President of the AFL, and Father of the American labor movement, in his speech to the 1924 Annual Convention of the AFL

I DO NOT BELIEVE in forcing a man to join a union. If he wants to join, all right; but it is contrary to the principles of free government and the Constitution of the United States to try to make him join.

WARREN S. STONE, former Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

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FEET of CLAY

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

OVERESTIMATION of the success of communism in the Soviet Union and in China is becoming the fashionable intellectual disease of the West. Khrushchev's transparently phony boasts of surpassing the American standard of living in the fairly near future are taken seriously, although as yet no queues have begun to form before Soviet consulates for permanent immigration permits. And it is a rare day when someone does not tell us that, unless American taxpayers put up a big contribution for the industrialization of India, Indian and other Asian peasants (who are somewhat fancifully supposed to keep their eyes glued on comparative production statistics of India and China) will decide that communism is really what the doctor ordered.

Writes the British publicist, former Laborite MP, and hotgospeller of nationalization, Mr. Michael Foot, in a recent issue of *The Spectator*:

"Like it or not, one of the most spectacular events of our age is the comparative success of the communist economic systems . . . Considering the tumultuous forty years through which the Russians have lived, the achievement by any reckoning is stupendous."

And Mr. Foot, who would quite sincerely repudiate the imputa-

Mr. Chamberlin is a skilled observer and reporter of economic and political conditions at home and abroad. He has written a number of books, has lectured widely, and is a contributor to *The Wall Street Journal* and many nationally known magazines.

Illustration: Sovfoto

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tion of being a Communist himself, uses the alleged stupendous success of the communist economic system as an argument for his own pet panacea: wholesale nationalization, public ownership and allocation of resources. And not a few Americans are proceeding from the assumption that the Soviet economy has turned out a howling success to the conclusion that America also should have more public direction of its economy and imitate the Soviet Union in other ways, as in greatly extending federal controls and federal expenditures in education.

It is always easy to create a utopian picture of conditions in a country which is imperfectly known, like the Soviet Union, or hardly known at all, like Red China. It is always a temptation to assume, if something is amiss in the United States, that things are better ordered in Russia.

Mere misjudgment of a foreign country is relatively harmless. But it becomes harmful if it leads to ill-advised recommendations for imitation of the practices of this country, without any consideration of the over-all comparative balance sheet.

The Dead Do Not Complain

What about this assumption that the Soviet economy, now in its forty-third year, has fully vindicated itself by its results? First, it might be noted that a good many Russians and other nationals of the Soviet Union are in no position to express an opinion on this question – because their lives were prematurely cut short as a direct result of certain economic and administrative policies of the Soviet government.

Several million people perished in the famine of 1921-22, which was in large part a result of irrational persistence in a system known as war communism, which destroyed peasant incentive to produce by requisitioning arbitrarily whatever the State decreed was his surplus grain. Several million more would have perished if American "imperialist capitalists," large and small, functioning mainly through Mr. Herbert Hoover's ARA (American Relief Administration), partly through various religious and philanthropic groups, had not violated all the accepted rules of class war by bringing in food to save Russians, Communists and non-Communists alike, from starvation.

There was another famine in 1932-33 which took at least four million victims. This was even more clearly due to Soviet economic policies than the disaster of 1921-22. It grew directly out of the determination of Stalin to impose collective farming; starvation

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was the penalty when the peasants cut down production and neglected their fields.

Some ten million persons passed through slave labor concentration camps during a quarter of a century of Stalin's terrible rule. Here again there was a direct connection with the economic policies which Mr. Foot finds so admirable and successful. For much timber cutting, digging of canals, coal and gold mining, and railway construction was the work of the horribly maltreated, overworked, underfed prisoners in these camps, of whom a large number died.

If one further counts the unknown numbers put to death in paranoid purges, the many victims of the deportations under appallingly inhuman conditions from Poland and the Baltic States, the abnormally high percentage of German, Italian, and other war prisoners who died in captivity, it is evident that the price of the Soviet economic system, in terms of human lives, was fantastically high and incomparably higher than any sacrifice required under alternative systems.

Few Consumer Items

And, even if one puts aside the dead, and thinks only of the living Soviet citizens today, have they so much reason to regard their lot in life as supremely happy? It is true that, by forced development of a state-directed economy along militarist lines, the Soviet Union has developed capacity to inflict formidable damage on the United States or any other enemy – but with the virtual certainty of receiving formidable damage in return. But, as regards the thousand and one little comforts and amenities that, along with such staple needs as food, clothing, and housing, make up a national standard of living, the Soviet Union is easily at the bottom of the list of industrialized powers and shows little prospect of emerging from this position. One might think, on reading some of Khrushchev's flights of fancy, that "catching up with America" was a reasonable prospect just around the corner.

Actually, the gap between the United States (and the more prosperous countries of Western Europe) and the Soviet Union in almost everything that makes for individual comfort and satisfaction is wide and, in many cases, growing wider. For instance, the number of new telephones installed every year in the United States exceeds the total number of telephones functioning in the Soviet Union. The number of automobiles that will roll off the United States assembly lines in 1960 will surpass the total number on the Soviet roads today.

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One subject never mentioned by Nikita Khrushchev when he endeavors to draw favorable comparisons with the United States is bathtubs and plumbing facilities. Here the American lead is so long that one would hesitate to set any date, however distant, for Soviet "catching up."

Even in those straight figures of industrial output which often bear little direct relation to individual well-being, and where the Soviet showing is apt to be strongest, the lag behind America during the early fifties was in some cases widening, not narrowing. Between 1950 and 1956, the United States lead in kilowatt hours of electricity increased from 298 billion to 483 billion. In oil output, the United States margin grew from 229 million tons to 270 million tons.

Some Progress Inevitable

That the Soviet Union today is enormously ahead of Czarist Russia in most branches of industrial production, although not in agricultural output, is undeniable. But is this not equally true if one looks back to the status of production technique in any industrialized country over a period of forty-two years? Think how American life has been revolutionized in that time by the automobile, the airplane, the radio, and a host of lesser inventions, which either are altogether new or have developed from rare luxuries into everyday possessions.

Moreover, it is a safe assumption that, had there been no communist revolution in Russia, the country, with its vast population, its rich natural resources, its proved ability in science and industrial development, would have moved forward enormously during the last four decades. Maybe some figures of output of coal, steel, machinery, and tractors would not have been so high, although even this is uncertain. But the living of the average Soviet citizen would have been much more comfortable and the grim casualty list from famines, purges, and executions would have been spared.

In Spite of Controls

Conversations with two experienced journalists who were recently in Russia and in other countries of Eastern Europe, one an American, the other Swiss, should dispel decisively Khrushchev's image of a Soviet Union breathing down the neck of the United States in peaceful economic competition. The American, who speaks fluent Russian and was able to make comparisons with the Soviet Union as he knew it in the thirties, remarked on how little had changed in the villages where half the So-

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viet population lives: the same simple huts, the same poor roads, the same absence of almost all the conveniences that the American farmer takes for granted. He was also in Bulgaria and reported that the Russian guide, assigned to Soviet tourists in that country, had a hard time explaining why living conditions in Bulgaria were visibly more agreeable than in the Soviet Union.

The Swiss journalist, one of few Westerners who got into this most secluded of the Soviet satellites, obtained the impression that Albania is more comfortable for the foreign visitor than the Soviet Union. He also felt that Poland was far ahead of the Soviet Union in its standard of living. Perhaps it would be more realistic for Khrushchev to set as his goal catching up with Poland and Bulgaria before he tackles a race with the United States.

The Party Line Is Unconvincing

Part of the fascination of communism for some Western minds is that it supposedly supplies all the answers, eliminates elements of doubt and conflict. But this is a false image. The outwardly imposing statue of a monolithic political, economic, and social order has feet of clay.

Consider the implications of a statement put out early in 1960 by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on the great and serious shortcomings in the field of communist propaganda. For more than forty years the Soviet government has enjoyed, in many ways, monopoly control over the minds of its subjects. The schools, the press, the radio have published only official viewpoints. Yet the Central Committee admits, in a statement which is given maximum publicity, that propaganda for the Party viewpoint has "only a narrow sphere of influence," that it "does not embrace the masses," that "the merits of socialism and communism are often described in weak terms," and much more to the same effect.

In short, when propaganda is strongly at variance with the facts of life and human nature, it is apt to backfire.

The very relaxation of the extreme terror which prevailed under Stalin poses new problems and difficulties. For, when people no longer live in dread of the midnight knock on the door, they begin not only to think, but to speak more freely. There is much evidence that Khrushchev has been obliged to walk a narrow tightrope, on the one hand rejecting the crude Stalinite methods, but on the other hand seeing to it that the trickle of permitted liber-

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alism does not become a flood, sweeping away the very bastions of communist dogma.

Another contradiction comes up in connection with the new policy of professing to favor closer cultural relations with foreign lands, exchanges of visits between Soviet and foreign scientists, artists, scholars, students, and common or garden tourists. Here the difficulty, from the standpoint of the Soviet rulers, is to go through the motions of implementing such a policy while preventing the entry of dangerous ideas from the West. Even now, very few Soviet citizens are permitted to travel outside the frontier of the Iron Curtain.

This situation is hit off by a current Moscow joke. A Soviet professor is supposedly telling the members of his class that, as a result of the achievements of Soviet science, they can soon travel to Venus, to Mars, to the moon. "Yes, Professor," pipes up a timid voice, "but how soon can we travel to Vienna?"

The Situation in Red China

In communist-ruled China there is perhaps a still wider gap between propaganda appearances and living realities than there is in the Soviet Union. Indeed, by comparison with Red China, the Soviet Union could almost be considered an open society.

If one could accept at face value the propaganda "facts and figures" reeled off by communist officialdom and the more ecstatic tales of individuals who return from subsidized trips, China would have to be considered an earthly paradise, and it would be difficult to understand how anyone would wish to leave. But, although there has never been even the semblance of a free election in China or in any country under communist rule, there have been some rather impressive unofficial plebiscites which point in a very different direction.

For instance, about 20,000 Red Chinese soldiers were captured during the war in Korea. Although the United States military authorities leaned over backward to give representatives of Red China full opportunity to urge these men to return to their homes after the end of hostilities, about three-quarters preferred to go to Formosa and take their chance under the nationalist government there. There was an equally significant reluctance on the part of North Korean prisoners to return to their Red-ruled homeland.

When the Chinese Nationalists evacuated the Tachen offshore islands in 1955, they offered the 18,000 inhabitants a free choice: to remain under communist rule or to be evacuated to Formosa.

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The option was about 1,000 to one in favor of Formosa.

The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, an island directly off the coast of China with an adjacent strip of mainland, has an overwhelmingly Chinese population, very much increased by an influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Red China. This is an age when the tides of nationalism and opposition to foreign rule are rising high. Britain has faced various forms of anti-colonial trouble in many parts of its rapidly shrinking empire, in Cyprus, in Malta, in British Guiana, for instance.

Had conditions in China under communist rule improved, it would have been reasonable to expect stormy demonstrations in Hong Kong calling for the return of the territory to China. But there has not been even a peep to this effect. And the reason is obvious. The stories of pillage, slavery, and hunger under Red rule, brought by the refugees, have created in the whole Chinese community of Hong Kong a mood of complete willingness to let the British "imperialists" go on running the place.

Lenin remarked once that the Russian Army, at the end of World War I, voted for peace with their feet – by running away. And that is how people have invariably voted against communism, by running away from it, in Asia and in Europe, in China and Korea, in Germany and Hungary.

The essence of communism, in Russia or in China, is its awesome effectiveness in exploiting the individual by means of the power of a State that is absolutist, in politics as in economics. When the State fixes prices, wages, and profits (in state-run enterprises), the individual is caught coming and going. Such an omnicompetent State beats the progressive income tax as a means of stripping the individual of the chance to direct his own life and of reducing him to the status of a robot serf of the government.

Should the United States be so misguided by the hasty acceptance of the counterfeit coin of communist propaganda as to inject still larger doses of statism into its own economy, the time might come when Americans would be running away from their country at the risk of their lives and when a foreign visitor would find that—although American satellites were touching all points in outer space—the American standard of living was rather inferior to that of Paraguay or Bolivia. ◆

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A scholarly analysis and exposure of . . .

COMMUNIST CAPITALISM

EDWARD J. WEBSTER

CAREFUL ANALYSIS of the communist system reveals it as a flimsy texture of frauds. In our title we have linked the words "communist" and "capitalism" in order to examine the most barefaced of communist frauds – namely, the monotonous condemnation of "capitalism." For more than a hundred years, Communists have paraded their "down with capitalism" slogans and prattled incessantly about what they allege are the all-embracing evils of capitalism. Meanwhile, within less than forty years, the communist system which the Kremlin gangsters would impose upon all of us has become the most arbitrary, arrogant, rigid capitalism the world has ever known. It is now so easy to make that indictment stick that nobody any longer need be hoodwinked.

Unfortunately, there is a vast deal of confusion concerning basic economic facts of life. For example, what is "capital"? "Capital" is a generic or general term. It includes the entire mass of machinery, tools, instruments, and devices accumulated from past production for use in present and future production. Capital has enabled man so to use the power resources of nature – water, steam, and electricity, conspicuously – as both to reduce the amount of human effort required for essential goods and services and to do countless things that he could not otherwise do at all. The division of labor and specialization in production that yield thousands upon thousands of luxuries as well as necessities are made possible by capital. By means of capital employed in modern transportation

Mr. Webster is retired, having taught at several American colleges and served various special agencies of the Federal Government in research capacities. This is one of a series of articles reprinted by permission from *The Sarasota News*, Florida.

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and communication, some of the limitations of space and time have been overcome. We travel across the continent in a few hours; we have around-the-clock reports of world-wide events as they occur; and, if we wish, we may have a message sent around the world in a matter of minutes. Nor should the marvels of modern medicine be overlooked. Not infrequently, a half million dollars may be spent in the development of a single product—which the public straightway takes for granted. Regardless of the form it may take or the manner in which it is applied, practically everything that now contributes to our unprecedented standard of living and to the broad enrichment of our life is dependent upon capital.

Something Saved

But what is "capitalism," that avowed evil for which the Communists pretend to have such bitter hatred? When – after what has in the past usually been a long process of accumulation or "formation" – major productive activities, such as mining, manufacturing, and the like, are directed by those who own or control the capital required, it may be said that some type of capitalism has developed. Historically, various types of capitalism have been identified: industrial, trade, financial, state, and free enterprise. The underlying similar characteristic of these is that at some time and in some manner a portion of what had been produced was saved or set apart and made available for future production in some area of the economy. No padding of "ideological" gossamer can conceal the fact that all capital so formed and so used must, sometime, somewhere, and somehow, have been "created" in the process of production. It was not pulled out of a magic hat.

At this juncture one point must be emphasized – and remembered. The communist economy, in order to further its aggressive schemes, is more dependent upon capital than is any free nation in the world. Indeed, all of communism's boasted achievements have been made by the use of capital. It is true, of course, that the various tools and devices now used by communist capitalism were not developed in communist states. They had been developed by other systems of capitalism before they were "expropriated" (stolen) by the Communists. But, for the replacement of their present supply of tools and devices as well as for the development of new ones, the Communists must save a portion of their product for use as capital. The point calls for no debate. That which originates as capital, be-

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haves like capital, and does the work of capital, *is* capital. Neither the method by which it is formed nor the mechanism by which it is controlled can ever invalidate that fact.

All capital is capital, but systems of capitalism differ. Our main interest now, therefore, is to examine the distinctive characteristics of communist capitalism. In what respects is it different? What makes it tick as it ticks?

Expropriation

How is communist capital "formed"? In the first instance, as has already been pointed out, much of it was confiscated, expropriated – stolen. But the outrageous lengths to which communist capitalism, as an operating concern, has been willing to go to increase its capital is one of the blackest marks on its sordid record. The entire system of the Communists – wages, plane of living, everything – is geared to that objective. Their boasted "five-year plans" were designed to speed the accumulation of capital, and the degree of their success has depended upon the extent to which food, clothing, and housing were withheld from the hungry, ill-clad, and ill-housed. In order to set up capitalized collective farms, the land was seized and the dissenting landowners were mercilessly slaughtered. Add to that the toil of countless thousands of slave workers in concentration camps, where the depravity of communist administration plumbed appalling depths. By such methods the communist State has taken – and continues to take – from the "national product" as much as it chooses for use as capital, all of which is owned by the State. The state ownership of capital is a Marxian must and the hard core of communism.

Even more significant than the manner of acquiring capital is the method by which communist capitalism is controlled and directed. The system is a totalitarian dictatorship. Because the State owns the capital, it controls the use of capital without limitation or restraint. Inasmuch as the State thus wields absolute power over productive activity, there is no possibility of the interplay of those factors and forces which make a free market. And that means the virtual control of consumption as well as of production.

Disregard of Human Values

The alleged achievements of communist capitalism must, therefore, be measured by its own operational procedures, not by the yardstick of civilized efficiency. By their own standard they are in violation of the most sacred hu-

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man rights and human values. By treating persons as mere things – as means to its end – communist capitalism is thus guilty of what must, in any tolerable system of either ethics or religion, be regarded as the unpardonable sin.

As a matter of fact, the Communist Party never has had any respect for, or faith in, the people it seeks to bamboozle with its fantastic fairy tales of a classless society, a State that withers away, and a dreamy future in a welter of sweet reasonableness on flowery beds of ease. Karl Marx himself expressed the party attitude in concise language when he said, "The Communists have over the great mass of the proletariat [the common people!] the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." It is of record that a certain notorious character, speaking before a congressional hearing in Washington some twenty-five years ago, expressed the same sentiment in fewer words: "The people are just too damn dumb!"

The vital issue before each one of us is not whether we shall live within some system of capitalism. Over the ages the accumulation of culture in all of its material and technological aspects has been such that productive activity, the making of the things we want and need, will continue to depend upon some system of capitalism. Mr. Joe Doakes will not be making his own shoes or building his own automobile.

Which Shall It Be?

But what kind of a system of capitalism do we want and are we resolved to defend in the United States? A few of the ugly contrasts between communist capitalism and our own people's capitalism within the framework of our Constitution provide solid basis for the answer to that question.

Communist capitalism is a gigantic monopoly, so sweeping in its activities that it extinguishes some of our most cherished human rights; our people's capitalism emerges from free decisions freely made. The motivation of communist capitalism is cold-blooded authority – a dictatorship; our free-enterprise capitalism is an expression of the democratic process. Communist capitalism builds upon what a despotic government arbitrarily takes from the people; our voluntary capitalism has its being in the foresight, self-denial, waiting, saving, and investing of free persons. But the point need not be labored. The bedrock difference between the two systems is simply the difference between abject slavery and freedom. ❧

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Loutrell Psalter, 1340

How the concepts of property rights in England brought to an end . . .

The Centuries of Communism

GEORGE WINDER

ACCORDING to communist theory the whole history of the world discloses a slow and inevitable evolution of humanity toward the type of society in which the means of transport, production, and exchange will be held in common ownership. Feudalism was but a step in this evolution and, as the result of economic forces, modern bourgeois society arose inevitably upon its ruins. But this is not the end; evolution is proceeding as surely as the mills of the gods, and bourgeois society is slowly being ground into the socialist state. Then the State itself will wither away and civilization will reach its final maturity in the perfection of communism.

Strange as it may seem, it is this theory of inevitable evolutionary development which gave Marxist communism the distinction of being described as "scientific socialism." Other forms of socialism were expounded by inferior thinkers such as Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but their theories were unhistorical utopian inventions, whereas the theories of Karl Marx gave the world a scientific interpretation of history. He discerned communism at the end of the road, not as the result of a utopian wish but because he was a scientific economist.

Better economists than Marx

Mr. Winder, formerly a Solicitor of the Supreme Court in New Zealand, is now farming in England. He has written widely on law, agriculture, and economics, his most recent book being *A Short History of Money*.

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have discovered that when his economic theories are original, they are also false; but that has made little difference to his followers, who remain convinced that the all-important scientific discovery of the nineteenth century was that the communist society is predetermined. Today this belief in the inevitability of his aims is the very basis of the Communist's strength. It is held with a fanaticism which, if not resisted, may completely destroy Western civilization. However, when we look at the evidence Marx produces for this inevitability, we find it of the scantiest possible kind – little more than a catalogue of the types of society he found in history. Although his *Communist Manifesto* does mention Rome, ancient civilizations are of little use to him for they failed to evolve in the way his theories required. They disappear from history before reaching the final evolutionary stages he expected. He is, therefore, content to tell us that modern bourgeois society has arisen from the ruins of feudalism; and from this point the evolution toward communism proceeds, by dialectic steps, as the class struggle destroys one privileged group after another.

But, as Karl Marx is attempting to expound a philosophy of history, he is not entitled to commence his chain of causation just where he likes – that is, to choose the evidence which suits his case and to conceal the rest. Why not start at the earliest form of society of which we have any record? Start, in fact, not with feudalism, but with communism – primitive communism.

A New Light on Marx

Now this is not a suggestion palatable to Communists. They are, in fact, insulted by it and will conceive that it is merely a play on words put forward in a mood of flippancy. What possible connection can primitive communism have with their ideal form of existence? Primitive communism is of another world and no chain of evidence, they believe, can possibly be found connecting it with the modern communist ideal.

However, when we study primitive communism we discover facts which give us an entirely new outlook on Marx's theory of social evolution. We find that there is not the difference we expected between the communism practiced in Eastern Europe today and that primitive communism Marx ignored. Also, we find that we can trace the evolution from primitive communism through feudalism and other intermediate stages in social development far more clearly and with far more support-

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ing evidence than Marx provided for his development from feudalism to the communism of the future. We will be surprised how short a time it is since the whole of Europe was occupied by societies which were fundamentally communist, and we will find how clearly history has marked for us the road from one form of communism to another. By following this road, we will certainly obtain a far better appreciation of the miracle and virtues of modern society than most of us now possess; and we will make the startling discovery, which should have been obvious from the beginning, that the modern communism now being experienced in Eastern Europe is not the final stage in an evolutionary process but a reversion of mankind to a state of society which was universal in the primitive and not too distant past.

Extremes of Inequality

One mistake many people make concerning communism is to associate it with the idea of equality, whereas, it seems certain that nothing is more conducive to extremes of inequality than the common ownership of the means of production. This has been particularly so when the means of production has consisted chiefly of land.

There was a stage in the history of man when it was possible that he did live in a state of equality. This was when the only source of subsistence was the food he gathered in its natural state or killed in the hunt. That equality was due to there being nothing left over after the pangs of hunger were satisfied. A man got his full share or died. The next stage began when domestic animals were tamed or land was cultivated.

Land and herds became the first form of capital. They were not personal possessions but tribal. In this stage of primitive communism there was little more equality than there is in a communist state today.

Greater mental or physical strength or skill gave men privileges and rights which their less fortunate fellows did not possess. We have numerous studies of tribes which owned land in common, but nowhere do we find equality. Tacitus gives us one of the earliest studies of Europeans in a state of primitive communism. He describes the Germanic race when cereal production was in its early stages and when a tribe cultivated the soil for a year or two and then moved on to break up new ground. All lands were tribal lands for which the tribe continually had to fight. There was little democratic equality,

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slaves were common, and chiefs gathered around themselves privileged fighting men to be their companions.

Primitive Common Ownership

The modern anthropologist can give us numerous examples of primitive societies which held all capital goods in common ownership. When, for example, Europeans first reached New Zealand, they found not only land but many commodities such as canoes held in common. Yet slaves existed and chiefs were all-powerful. Some Europeans purchased large tracts of land from unscrupulous chiefs for a few guns and axes, only to discover that they had purchased tribal land of which they could not retain possession. When the British government eventually established law and order in New Zealand, it wisely recognized the Maori custom of holding land in common and went to great lengths to obtain the consent of every member of a tribe to land transfers. Even today the large number of names on Maori land certificates give unending trouble to lawyers.

The American Indian seems also to have held land and such capital goods as he possessed in common, but this does not seem to have resulted in equality.

It does seem to be true, however, that at the very beginning of the stage of agriculture and animal husbandry, when tribes were very poor and constantly on the move, there was more equality than when they established themselves in communal societies on settled areas of land. In fact, under the system of tribal ownership, the greater the wealth the more the power and privileges of the chief increased. He finally obtained so much power over the common source of wealth that no one could disobey his commands. At this stage communism bears a strange resemblance to feudalism. The feudal lord has been mistaken for the forerunner of the modern capitalist but, in reality, he is the natural and inevitable product of a communal or communist society, which must of necessity place itself at the mercy of leaders who will always abuse their powers. This is probably as inevitable a trend under communism today as it was under the primitive communism of the past.

Feudalism can be described as just one of the stages we have traveled in our development from primitive communism to modern free enterprise. This becomes the more evident if we study the agriculture and land tenure systems which prevailed in England from the Anglo-Saxon settlements to the end of the eighteenth century.

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Cooperative Plowing

The great contribution to agriculture made by the Anglo-Saxon was the heavy plow drawn by upwards of eight oxen. It was with this that the early colonists broke up the lowlands of England and established what is now known as the open field system of agriculture. Under this system each settlement held its land in common and the greater part was divided into two large fields, one of which was plowed every second year and sown with rye while the other remained fallow. It was the custom of oxen to pull the heavy plow through the earth in short bursts of energy, a furrow's length or "furlong" at a time, and then rest.

The plow with its string of oxen was very difficult to turn so that the result of a period of work was always a long narrow strip of plowed land. This was allotted to one member of the plowing team or perhaps to the owner of the plow or of one of the oxen. The next strip was allotted to another contributor to the common effort. Then as each day a new strip was plowed, it was reserved for other members of the community such as the blacksmith or the cowherd and, of course, for the chief and his companions who protected the settlement while the work was being done. When each claimant had his plowed strip duly allotted, the procedure would start all over again until the whole field was plowed into numerous strips and each man in the settlement, which in time became the medieval manor, had separate strips allotted to him all over the open field. Often, of course, there were several plow teams working on the same field so that the chief would receive a very large number of strips.

Although the plowing was a communal effort, the cultivation of the strips was left to the temporary occupiers, some of whom – if there were not enough slaves to do the job – would also have to look after the strips allotted to the chiefs and fighting men. The cattle, which in England from an early date were the property of individual tribesmen, grazed during the spring and summer months on the surrounding uncultivated land which – like the open fields – was common property. At an agreed date when the rye was harvested, the field was opened to the cattle of the whole settlement, and they were driven in to graze the second growth. The strips, which for a few months had been held in severance, became once again the property of the tribe.

This seems, in theory, a fair enough system and probably at its commencement it was. The early Anglo-Saxon warriors who had

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just conquered the land were free men, and it is only reasonable that they should plow up part of the common land for the chief and his immediate companions who were perhaps constantly on the lookout for raiding Danes. As the country became more settled, it might be thought that these services for the chief would become lighter; instead they became heavier and eventually almost servile. During the Dark Ages we have little opportunity to trace the decay in the status of the Anglo-Saxon husbandman; but when the curtain which obscures history goes up again in the eleventh century we find that while the economic system has altered very little, the social system has been completely changed, thereby upsetting another of Karl Marx's theories.

England of the Normans

As far as the economic system is concerned, the two-field system has given way to three fields, so that in the eleventh century only a third of the cultivated land lies fallow every year, while oats, wheat, and barley have taken the place of rye; but apart from this there is no fundamental change in agriculture. The plow teams still work the open fields in strips and the cattle are still turned in for the autumn grazing. Now, however, the signal for this is the ringing of the church bell. But the rights of those who occupy the strips in the open fields have been completely changed. Instead of the strips being re-allotted every year, their occupancy by individuals has become permanent; and they are held as grants from the chief – now become a feudal lord – on various tenures requiring personal services. Some of these services are of so light a nature that those who must render them can look upon their strips as practically freeholds; other grants are for purely military services; but most are held by villeins who must do agricultural work on the lord of the manor's land. Some strips can pass by inheritance, others are held for the life of the tenant, others depend on the will of the lord of the manor. Society is divided into well-defined strata. Below the aristocracy are freemen, villeins, bordarii, cottarii, and serfs. The once tribal chief has become very much the lord and master.

The Conquest has made little change to either the economy or the social system, only substituting a Norman for an Anglo-Saxon lord. The powers of these feudal lords are only limited by custom, but the rights of some stripholders are registered in the King's Courts. Each lord in turn

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owes duties to another feudal lord greater than himself. Few contractual relationships exist in this early Norman period, the rights and duties of every member of society being fixed by customs which have developed during the Dark Ages; and every man has a master in a long hierarchy up to the king. We can see such a hierarchical system reappearing in Russia today.

No Private Property

The most important characteristic of the system, however, is that no one, not even the lord of the manor himself, can say, "This is my land. I shall do what I like with mine own." The land of every manor is farmed collectively, fully as collectively as any communist farm in Russia, and its management is in the hands of the Manor Court. This important body which is presided over by the lord of the manor or his steward, is made up of the occupiers of strips in the open field who serve, in rotation, twelve at a time – thus, incidentally, providing us with the forerunner of the English jury. The authority of the Manor Court over the farming of all the open fields is complete, whether the strips are held by villeins, freeholders, or the lord of the manor himself. It decides what crops shall be grown and when the cattle will be let into the fields. It inflicts fines on those it considers do not keep to sound farming practices or who neglect to repair their share of the common fences which protect the open field, or fail to keep clear the plow-made ditches between the strips or who attempt to keep more cattle on the common pasture than they are entitled to. This last is a very frequent crime in medieval times. It would be unjust, when all grazing is held in common, for a man to own as many cattle as he likes. The number must be decided by the Manor Court according to the number of strips each man holds.

Collective Farms

The Communist will, of course, declare that this form of collective farming is nothing like that practiced in Russia today. Well, it is true that great scientific advances have been made in modern times; the tractor, for example, has taken the place of the ox. But the farming of a feudal manor does seem to resemble a modern Russian collective farm far more than it does any individually owned farm found today in England or America.

It certainly cannot be described as an example of capitalism. It has all the signs of an intermediate stage developed from primitive communism. This collective form

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of agriculture remained the predominant form in England for nigh on 1,200 years. In most parts of Europe it remained even longer, and still existed in parts of Russia when modern communism arrived to supersede it. In certain parts of England and in the Highlands of Wales and Scotland, where the land is poor, it never developed. In the Highlands of Scotland, tribal communities owning land in common survived in a primitive form for centuries; but by the days of the Stuarts, communal rights had lost all meaning and the power of the chiefs over that land was greater than that of any English feudal lord.

The Beginnings of Ownership

Like all forms of collective production, the open field system changed very slowly. It was almost impossible for anyone with new ideas to experiment with his strips of land for he had to carry the members of the Manor Court with him, and in any case he lost his temporary and partial control over his strips as soon as the church bell rang to let in the cattle for the autumn grazing. But in spite of this, there was a slow but continuous change, almost imperceptible in the life of any one man. Very slowly, individuals began to raise themselves out of the collective mass. Towns grew up to win freedom from their overlords and these created markets which the more enterprising countrymen wanted to supply. Lords of manors began to consolidate their strips in the open fields by exchange with their tenants, and this gave them a domain near the manor house which they could enclose. Sometimes there was a general exchange of strips among all the tenants of the open fields so that the whole land of a manor became enclosed. Just as important in giving independence to the farmer was a slowly developing system of commuting personal service for definite cash rents. This created interests in land, many of which became virtually freeholds.

But in spite of this, the open field form of collective farming might have continued centuries longer than it did had not fate intervened in the form of the Black Death. This dreadful scourge of the fourteenth century, which is considered to have brought death to from a third to a half of the population of England, considerably hastened the change to individualist farming. When this visitation had passed, the lord of the manor found many of the strips in the open fields untenanted and labor extremely scarce. Under these conditions there was often nobody to object to his enclosing at least part of his land, and he

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found that there was always someone willing to take enclosed land off his hands at a reasonable rent.

There was one class of countryman who had begun to prosper outside the collective farming system even before the Black Death. This was the man who had developed sheep runs in the less fertile hill country. He was always willing now to rent new enclosures. A great market for wool had grown up in Flanders, and these flock masters who were free from collective control did all they could to meet it. Sheep, the most gregarious of all animals, thus assisted man to become an individualist. The feudal lords with their enclosed domains could have led the way in this development but they failed to grasp their opportunity and preferred to lease their land to more capable men. The history of Tudor times is full of the names of new entrepreneurs whose fortunes were founded on sheep.

The new men with their enclosures were hated by both aristocracy and commonalty alike, but they held their own. Henry VIII found them very useful because their wool earned foreign exchange. He made them hated still more when he plundered the monasteries.

The animosity against the flock masters expressed itself in many an old saying:

"Sheepe devour men."

"Sheepe have eate up our meadows and our downes
Our corne, our woods, whole villages and towns."

and, against the new men of wealth,

"A spawne sprung from a dunghill birth
Now prince in our land."

But soon the flock masters were not the only new capitalists. Under the Tudors many open fields were enclosed by agreement among the lord and his tenants. Some of these new enclosures remained arable and were held on various terms which frequently gave the occupier the security of a freeholder. These men became the first independent yeomen of England. They were assisted by the fact that their interest in their holdings could be protected in the King's Courts. Their property gave them little fortresses of independence which they could hold against all men. It was the source of their freedom. Of this type of farmer, one writer tells us, "He is lord paramount within himself, though he hold by never so mean a tenure. He need not fear his audit, for his Quietus is in heaven."

But toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, reaction set in and what is now known as the period of Tudor enclosures came to an

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end. From then on, land, still the most important form of capital the country possessed, remained partly enclosed and partly under the open field system with the latter still predominating. Capitalist and communal farming continued side by side. When we consider the Civil War and the Revolution of 1688, it looks as if political feelings were as divided as the economic system.

Blith, a noted agricultural writer, and one of Cromwell's captains, was a great advocate of enclosures. He claimed that half the enclosed arable land of the country would produce more than all the arable land farmed in common, and he did not hesitate to state that the supporters of the older system were "enemies of the State"—an expression we have lately seen revived in Great Britain against those farmers whom Agricultural Committees allege to be inefficient. Cromwell himself owned an enclosed cattle farm.

Observations on Early America

A reflection concerning America may here be in order. It is taken for granted by most American writers that the communal farming practiced by the Pilgrim Fathers for a few years after they landed in America was inspired by religious beliefs. But when these first settlers left Plymouth, communal farming was still practiced over the greater part of England, and they may well have been brought up in counties where any other system was unknown.

When in 1623 Governor Bradford debated with the leaders of the settlement whether "they should set corne every man for his own perticuler, and in this regard trust to themselves," these first American farmers were, in fact, echoing a debate which at that time was taking place in every English county.

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, when internal dissension had come to an end, that the process of enclosure was renewed with vigor. The reason for this was that, with security restored and communications improved, it was becoming increasingly obvious which of the two systems was the more productive. The independent enclosed farmers were growing clover and grass pastures which improved grazing out of all recognition. They were also growing turnips, introduced into the country from Holland, then the most advanced agricultural country in the world. One result of this was that English animals could be adequately fed in the winter so that there was not the customary autumn killing and salting in brine of all but the minimum number of beasts. A

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study of breeding began, and there was a most remarkable improvement in the size and type of animals.

All these improvements, however, were confined to the farmer on the enclosed land. They were impossible in the open fields where all the cattle in the manor were turned on to one's strips as soon as the church bell gave the signal in the autumn.

Under these circumstances the demand for enclosure became irresistible. But there were many difficulties; always some men resist change however desirable it may seem. If a few men refused to exchange their strips, which they frequently held in freehold tenure, they could prevent attempts to consolidate and enclose farms. Moreover, little could be done if the Manor Court could not be induced to agree.

At length Parliament came to the aid of enclosures. Providing it could be shown that three quarters of those holding strips in the manor's open fields wanted enclosure, Parliament would always pass a private bill permitting it, and Commissioners were sent to see that the open fields were divided justly among all those who owned strips or held them by any lessor tenure; the Church and sometimes charities received their share from the Commissioners. Even the owners of cottages received land if they could show continued occupancy. Invariably, some of the land near the village and some of the poorer land nobody particularly wanted to fence was unallocated and to this day provides most English villages with their Green and Common.

A Problem with Squatters

Few who have studied the question have denied the wisdom of enclosing the open fields with their strips of land occupied by innumerable farmers and open during a large part of the year to all the cattle in the manor; it was the enclosure of the outlying grazing land that provided the difficulties. Squatters had often settled themselves on this land where they lived in extreme poverty but where they could always get wood for fires and perhaps graze a few geese or even a cow. When all but a small part of the manor common was enclosed, this grazing had to cease and squatters had to move on without any home or security whatever. Furthermore, some who had owned a few strips in the open field now found themselves with land which was too small to justify the fences and buildings necessary for enclosed farming; and they sold out to larger holders. When they had spent the purchase money, they

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also felt dispossessed, and joined in the outcry against the new system. This outcry was so great that to this day it has left in the minds of most British people a wholly distorted view of enclosures. Many believe them nothing but the illegal seizure of the property of the poor.

But this idea is completely false. They were the exchange and consolidation of previously acquired property rights. The people of England would have starved if this change in the system of agriculture had been delayed any longer. The most radical writers of the eighteenth century supported enclosures. No one was more eloquent and sympathetic in describing the misery of the dispossessed squatters on the commons than Arthur Young, probably the most noted writer on agriculture of the period, yet he states, "While a county is laid out in open fields, every farmer tied down to the husbandry of his slovenly neighbour, there can be no good husbandry." It was the improvement he saw in the newly enclosed farms that caused him to coin the famous phrase, "the magic of property turns sand into gold."

Between 1760 and 1815, eighteen hundred Enclosure Acts were passed by Parliament. Then an Act was passed to provide a suitable procedure for all future applications for enclosure, and very soon the land of Great Britain ceased to be collectively controlled by Manor Courts and the individualist farmer was fully established. At this period when the land was being turned over to capitalist agriculture, there was also a great increase in the acquisition of capital assets other than land. This form of capital was accumulated by merchants and manufacturers who owed nothing to a feudal superior. With the adoption of capitalist enterprise, British agriculture entered into a golden age of progress which was just in time to provide the New World with many of its leading breeds of farm animals.

Nothing New in Communism

Karl Marx was extremely unscientific when he commenced his analysis of the social system at medieval feudalism. Had he gone back to the beginning of history, as he should have done, he would have discovered that there is nothing new in communism. When we study history, few social patterns can be pronounced upon dogmatically; but nothing is more certain than that feudal England was not an early form of capitalism — it was instead a late stage of primitive communism. The feudal lord was not the first capitalist boss but the last communist

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chief until he was resurrected as the commissar of the twentieth century.

As Marx believed that communism was a new system to which society was evolving, he expected it to appear first in the more industrially advanced countries such as England and America. Instead, it came first to Russia and very nearly to Spain, the most backward countries in Europe. This is comprehensible enough when we consider that in both these countries individualism was a young and tender plant unable to stand the chilling frost of the ideas Marx so assiduously propagated.

Innovation, invention, change, all depend on the freedom and the duty of the individual to stand on his own feet. We can revert to communism very easily for it is the only system mankind has known throughout the far greater part of his existence. It is not a system to be attained by effort but one which returns to us when we dodge responsibility and fail to preserve our defenses; particularly our religious defenses. It is like the jungle awaiting silently around us ready to creep back and swallow up our feeble efforts the moment we cease struggling to hoe our vegetables and sow our grain. When it comes, it will not be an advance in evolution but a reversion to barbarism.

One Manor Survives

In England today most of the villages with thcir crowning churches have occupied the same site for centuries. But the appearance of the countryside, with its enclosed fields surrounded by hedges has delighted the eye of man only since the eighteenth century, when the greater part of England was enclosed for the first time. In Laxton in Nottinghamshire there survives one manor which still retains the open field system. It is kept alive now as an interesting survival and the Manor Court meets in a local pub. The lord of the manor is the Minister of Agriculture.

In many parts of the country and especially in the Midlands, the marks of generations of plowing in the open fields, and allowing water to make channels on each side of the strips, have not been entirely obliterated. If the American airmen who now fly so frequently across the English countryside will observe the grassland below them very carefully, they will see that much of it is characterised by long undulations like the ground swell of the sea. Except for Laxton and the many village commons which still survive, these just visible lines of ancient strips are all that is left of the age-old communist agriculture of England. ◆

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Urban Renewal

EDITOR'S NOTE: *On March 29, 1960, White Plains, the county seat of New York State's wealthy Westchester area, received a federal grant of $9,199,000 for an urban renewal project in the center of the city.*

Appropriate comment on such procedure had appeared somewhat earlier by reporter Jack Mabley in the Chicago Daily News *of March 14:*

$6,000 To Plan Highland Park

BY JACK MABLEY

MAYBE somebody can tell me what business it is of the federal government to spend federal tax money to help people of Highland Park, Illinois, draw up a master plan.

What could be more local than a plan for streets and sewers and traffic control and apartment regulations in a small Illinois suburb?

This is nearly the ultimate absurdity of federal intervention in local affairs.

The absurdity is compounded by the fact that Highland Park is a very wealthy suburb populated largely by hard core Republicans who live in large expensive homes and spend a good deal of time bellyaching about federal spending and socialistic schemes.

* * *

BUT Highland Park was happy to apply for and accept $6,000 from the federal Urban Renewal Administration as a grant to help them make a plan.

This, in a nutshell, is one reason why we are in such a financial mess in Washington.

"We've got to cut taxes, we've got to cut spending. Just wait till I get mine, and then let's all economize."

The conservatives in Highland Park should be ashamed of this.

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On the Scientific Methods and Truth

DANIEL K. STEWART

ONE of the great idealists of the last century, Bernard Bosanquet, once said that "it is not cleverness or learning that makes the philosopher; it is a certain spirit; openness of mind, thoroughness of work, and hatred of superficiality."[1]

His point, of course, was not intended to apply merely to philosophers but to any and all persons who might be interested in *truth* for its own sake. Thus, his remark would apply equally well to persons engaged in scientific work, in politics, in economics, in religion, or any other activity where the avowed intention is the expansion and acquisition of knowledge that is reflective of reality – be it seen or unseen.

But surely, to speak and act with a view to obtaining the truth in all matters is simultaneously to speak and act from a world view having different norms and values than what prevail in our time.

Indeed, we are told that to be interested in such pursuits is to be most impractical, and that no one is *really* interested in the truth. We are told to wake up and stop dreaming, that the bald-faced fact is that we are living in an irrational world. We are told that throughout history, different systems of what constitutes truth have existed. Which system, if any, is the valid one for eternity? Is empirical knowledge truth? Is knowledge gained through revelation truth? And by these questions, the implication is that "truth" is relative, depending on how each of us defines the meaning of that word. To think otherwise is to be old-fashioned, some-

[1] Bosanquet, Bernard. *The Essentials of Logic*. London: Macmillan and Company, reprinted 1948. p. 167.

Dr. Stewart is an instructor in the Department of Natural Science at Michigan State University.

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what unsophisticated, and at best, just a wee bit naive.

But, for all of this, for my part, if we are to be good judges we must say what we think. And our thought is that to those who are under the false impression that agnosticism, cynicism, or intellectual nihilism is modern, I would suggest that they dust off some of those books they have been indoctrinated against and start reading Plato's *Protagorus* and *Theaetetus*.

In these two dialogues in particular, we meet Protagorus, the original progressive educator. Here, in the fifth century B.C., we meet up with the doctrine that everything has a relative truth only; there are no absolutes, in that "man is the measure of all things."[2]

An Ancient Fallacy

Thus, even while this doctrine stems from antiquity, we find it passionately embraced as a first article of faith by those very people who would accuse conservatives of trying to turn back the clock, as being "reactionary" in political affairs, and as being comparable to "fundamentalists" in religious matters. (A "fundamentalist" for these people is anyone who fails to grasp the "logic" of construing the spiritual brotherhood of theology in terms of biological brotherhood.)

It would be of little moment, of course, if these views and epithets came from people with limited education. But, on the contrary, these views and epithets come from members of the "intelligentsia," from people who hold Ph. D.'s. They come from university administrators whose primary responsibility, ironically, is to fulfill the trust placed in their hands to carry on the best traditions of our society, to endow their students with moral principles, to instruct them in the ways of becoming more human.

Accordingly, we are awe-stricken when some university presidents find it repugnant for their students to take an oath of loyalty to their country while others boldly disseminate, as progress reports, the moral relativism, "Man is the measure of all things."

The Spirit and Methods of Truth

Thus, Bosanquet's remark of the nineteenth century sounds exceedingly modern when compared with the type of philosophy enunciated by many within our present-day academies of higher education.

The "certain spirit" that Bosanquet is talking about is, of course, the spirit of truth. And the "thor-

[2] Plato. *The Dialogues*, tr. by B. Jowett. New York: Random House, 1937. Vol. II, p. 153.

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oughness of work" he mentions refers to *the methodological technique* employed while seeking this truth. These are but some of the things which go to make the philosopher.

But, also, these are the very things which go to make the scientist, those scientists, at least, who make their mark in history. (We are not talking about those tradesmen whose chief occupation is literally to collect, count, and classify, and whose understanding of reality is restricted to those things which can be kicked and stimulated in some manner.) For my part, good scientists are also good philosophers, and vice versa; even as philosophy begins with wonder, so does science.

Thus, the search for truth and one's methodological technique are mutually implicative propositions. And it is for this very reason that the critical study of what has come to be known as "the scientific methods" is most important in one's intellectual upbringing. These methods are not restricted to science, of course, even though some individuals might feel that things not conventionally identified with science are necessarily apart from it. For these individuals, philosophy could never be construed as having to do with "real" science. And, in final analysis this is more a semantic problem than anything else, hinging on what is meant by "science."

Even so, it is an interesting paradox that those people who do the most critical thinking about the scientific methods are not scientists at all, but, in fact, are philosophers – or at least they receive their income under this label. Under less presumptuous occasions they call themselves positivists or logical empiricists. Positivists are to philosophy as the tradesmen mentioned above are to science. Both are skilled technicians. Both excel at operational thinking.

Systems of Explanation

Scientific methodology, therefore, has to do with those techniques which the modern philosopher critically examines and the modern scientist professes to use. They refer to those tools which anyone employs on those occasions that he is searching for truth. They have to do, first of all, with a critical understanding of logic. They include some understanding of what is meant by "systems-of-thought" and "systems-of-explanation" insofar as these are embodiments of theories, laws, and descriptions. A critical knowledge of the nature of facts, hypotheses, measurement, probability, and so on, also is included among the scientific methods.

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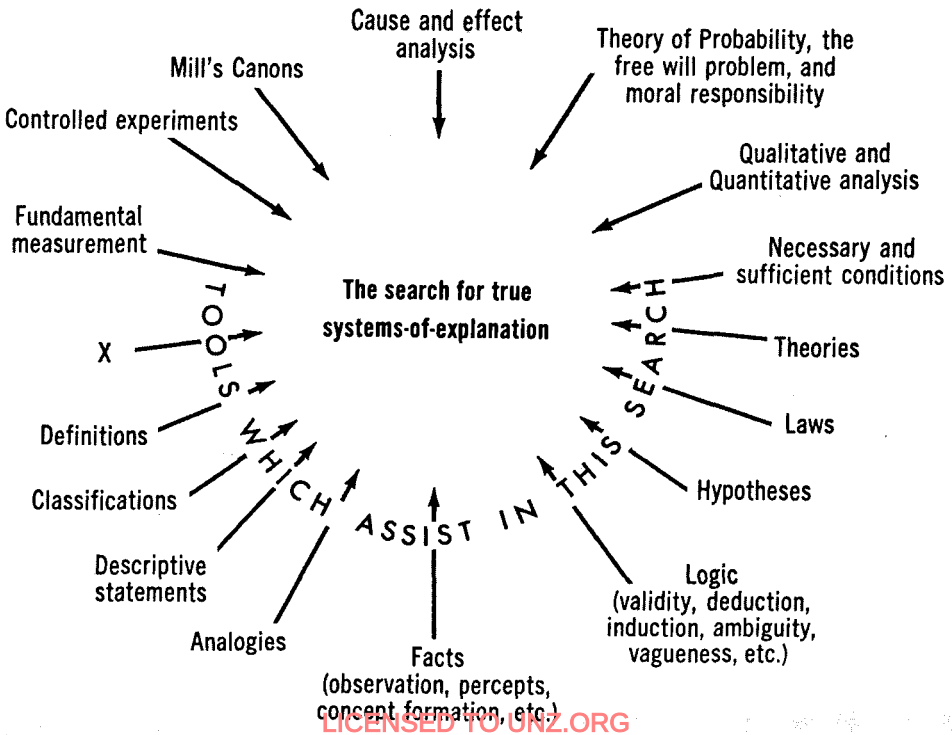
Thus, if we define a "system-of-thought" as a coherent, orderly arrangement of ideas or beliefs regarding some given subject, and a "system-of-explanation" as the physical explication of this system-of-thought, then the point of epistemological significance involved here can be graphically presented in the following manner.

From the diagram below, it is necessarily implied that the scientific methods can be thought of as epistemological tools which have as their primary object the production of true systems-of-explanation. These are the entities we can lay hold of, talk about, and hone down to an extremely critical, highly discriminatory edge.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHODS



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After all, this is what the mind is for – to reason. Not sloppily, and not with dull tools, but with the best and sharpest tools one possesses.

It is my position that knowledge may be viewed as a series of "systems-of-explanation," and that these systems are the product not only of science but of anything that man thinks and talks about. The real issue in anything is, *What is the truth?* To approach this we, as human beings, most of the time employ signs of some sort, normally words. Therefore, in any discourse which is being presented to us as truth, the primary task is to look for a consistent system-of-explanation, and, secondly, the empirical facts – directly or indirectly obtained – and which would make the propositions in that system true. Thus, ideas and facts go together in that "Gedanken ohne Inhalt sind leer, Anschauungen ohne Begriffe sind blind."[3] And this is as true for science as it is for those systems dealing with religion, aesthetics, politics, philosophy, or anything else.

[3] Kant, Immanuel. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft.* Berlin: Mayer and Muller, 1889. p. 100. "Thoughts without content are empty, intuitions without concepts are blind," where *intuition* means perception, sensibility, or senses. Thus, Kant subsequently states, "the understanding cannot see, the senses cannot think."

Our Contemptuous Sophistication

Now we are cognizant, of course, that we live in an age and a climate-of-opinion which rebels at this sort of procedure. Any attempt to reach the minds of the young cynics of our time is met only with a kind of contemptuous sophistication. In terms of intellectual growth, they are like the young boy who quit learning because he thought he knew all there was to know. And as the boy grew older, the more sophisticated he became, until finally no one could tell him anything. He knew so little, he knew it all.

Even in science, which boasts of having an open mind, many biologists will at one time say, "We can never know what life is," and, at another time say – with wide-eyed innocence, "There is no life after death."

In one case they admit they do not know what "life" is, yet, are quite willing to assume they do in the next case. That these biologists are materialists is obvious. But it is also true that, through the history of mankind, materialism has always been the enemy of truth.

Yet, it is often said that we live in a materialistic age. And certainly no one would question the truth of this. For no other explanation can better account for the success in this country of such

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materialistic philosophies as positivism, pragmatism, and their political manifestation – totalitarian liberalism. (Liberalism, as Chodorov so succinctly puts it, is simply socialism without Marx.)

That this type of philosophy has infected our educational and political institutions is also self-evident. One merely has to read various campus newspapers, textbooks, "progress" reports, and look at various showcases to observe the political and philosophical slant which is presented. In many states today genuine political liberty does not, in fact, exist. Calling the same political philosophy by two different party labels does not alter the identity of that philosophy. "Bi-partisanship" is the order of the day.

In short, any alternative philosophy which insists that traditional norms and standards be maintained is described by the materialists as being "old-fashioned," "reactionary," "extreme right wing," or just plain "antiliberal." In fact, to be concerned more about the welfare of one's own country – as opposed to some other country – is to leave ourselves open to smear and intimidation by the political liberals.

Indeed, materialistic philosophy has been so successful that, as a consequence, patriotism actually has to be taught to young people going into the armed services. This fact, among several possible facts, certifies the extent that we have intellectually alienated ourselves from the teachings of traditional philosophy. It marks the extent that we have divorced ourselves from norms and values – and truth.

So it is for these reasons, and many others, that we have emphasized here the point of getting the truth. As human beings, as communicating individuals, we normally proceed in our search for truth only by the production of some system-of-explanation and the necessary facts to back up this system. For my part, if we are not given both of these, the chances are excellent that we are being propagandized for a given purpose.

Emphasis on the Individual

Thus, it is now clear why we have chosen to emphasize this methodological aspect of science. Our interest has been in terms of its broader implications. Critical thinking applies itself to all areas of human endeavor. We are concerned especially with the task of making human beings more human. This necessarily implies that we are concerned with people not as a group – which is a sheer fiction – but as individuals unique in every way.

Our primary concern has been

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to explicate a methodological basis of truthful knowledge. Because it is apparently only through this basis that human beings come to acquire some knowledge of norms and values, some knowledge of our duties and responsibilities, and, most important, some knowledge of morality.

For my part, it is as Sigwart says – that the principles of methodology ultimately point to the idea of a moral God; and that this God can only be more definitely apprehended by means of these principles which forever stand before our thought as the purpose for which they exist.[4]

The form of truth does not vary from discipline to discipline; it is only the subject matter that varies. In final analysis, truth is one, not many. There are not "truths"; there is only truth.

In conclusion, we now recognize that the popular phrase known as "the scientific methods" is really a misnomer, and that it might be more significantly called "general methodology for approaching the truth." And we recognize, also, that this methodology does not belong to science alone. Rather, it belongs to any, and all, disciplines where truth is the goal.

At this point, someone may ask somewhat wearily, "Why all this talk about truth? Of course we are interested in the truth, but we have to live, too; we must earn a living and get along with other people (togetherness)," and so on. But these remarks merely reflect that point of view I spoke about earlier, namely, that the pursuit of truth is most impractical – the general idea being that we ought to stop dreaming, wake up to the facts of life, and "live modern," as it were.

The Ideal Is Practical

Again, that this cynicism is the fashionable philosophy of our age we do not deny. But also, that it has failed miserably is an empirical fact. So what may appear practical to some people may not be practical at all. And what may appear most impractical may, in final analysis, be the most practical thing there is. Even so, we might reply with Hegel when he was speaking of the earlier cynics that they are, "generally speaking, nothing more than swinish beggars, who found their satisfaction in the insolence which they showed to others."[5]

But more than this, it is these very exhortations which mark the stampede away from personal re-

[4] Sigwart, Christoph. *Logic*, tr. by H. Dendy. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1895. Vol. II, p. 548.

[5] Hegel, Georg W. F. *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, tr. by E. S. Haldane. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1955. Vol. I, pp. 486-487.

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sponsibility and a philosophy of life which has some semblance of morality about it. They mark the prevalance of agnosticism, cynicism, and, in general, intellectual nihilism.

The problem, as always, is fundamentally a philosophical one, ergo, our interest in truth and our emphasis upon methodology. For that system by means of which one directs his behavior – that is, one's very own philosophy of life – ought to be truth-oriented. And the truth-value of any given philosophy of life is measured only in terms of the criticalness of one's methodology.

For my part, the early period of our life – our youth – is the most important. It is here where we receive our basic notions of what constitutes good and bad moral and ethical judgments. And the point is that no one would want these basic notions of anything less than the purest form. Indeed, they should be of the strongest and most durable fiber obtainable – the most perfect, the ideal.

It is in this sense, therefore, that Plato suggests we should teach our youth to love but one form only – the pure form; and soon they will see that the beauty of one form is analogous to the beauty of another. And then, if beauty of form in general is their pursuit, how foolish they would be not to recognize that the beauty in every form is one and the same – the beauty of truth.[6] ◆

[6] Plato, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 334.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Organized Individuality

IN ORDER TO FREE the fiction of the sovereign State – in other words, the whims of those who manipulate it – from every wholesome restriction, all socio-political movements tending in this direction invariably try to cut the ground from under the *religions*. For, in order to turn the individual into a function of the State, his dependence on anything beside the State must be taken from him . . . The individual who is not anchored in God can offer no resistance on his own resources to the physical and moral blandishments of the world . . . *Resistance to the organized mass can be effected only by the man who is as well organized in his individuality as the mass itself.*

CARL G. JUNG, *The Undiscovered Self*

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Lament for a Poet

RALPH DE TOLEDANO'S *Lament for a Generation* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 272 pp., $3.95), a spiritual odyssey written with warmth, poetry, and eloquence, is a token document of the times. It begins in the world of the Popular Front, when liberals thought they could make common cause with Communists, and it ends in a curious preoccupation with the problem of what (or who) constitutes an acceptable ally in the battle against the inroads of the Coercive State. It laments the lack of "program and certainty" among conservatives – but, aside from what must be taken as a plea for universal religious conversion, it offers no particular program of its own. There is hope expressed that Richard Nixon will turn out to be the "American Disraeli" – but one searches the text in vain for what an American Disraeli might be expected to do.

Reading Mr. de Toledano, I found myself carried away by his warmth and sincerity. But after laying the book aside I had the feeling that is so well expressed in the *Rubaiyat*, that the attempt to go too deeply into ultimates is like making progress through a revolving door. When Ralph de Toledano is *against*, he is perfectly clear. The story of his break with the Communists in the days of the Moscow trials and the Hitler-Stalin Pact, a story that is told with sympathetic understanding for those who found it difficult to escape the clutch of a vision, is a document to place on the shelf alongside Freda Utley's similar *The Dream We Lost*. Mr. de Toledano couldn't stomach the communist belief that anything is moral that helps the Revolution.

Being against communist morals did not mean, at the time, that de Toledano was against socialist economics. It was not until after he had laid aside his U. S. Army uniform in late 1945 that he came to grips with the problem of trying to combine collectivist economic arrangements with the ancient freedoms that are the eternal hunger of man. Taking part in a series of seminars held to discuss the "future of democratic social-

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ism," de Toledano discovered that his fellow laborites and socialists didn't really believe that freedom could survive a rigorous attempt to make "all economic activity mesh." Certain questions carried their own answers. Strikes? Under socialism wouldn't a strike be considered a blow against the State? Collective bargaining? But what would be the meaning of bargaining in a world where higher wages and shorter hours, duly signed for in the agreement, must collide with a plan already laid down? Either the bargaining agreement would force a new plan, or it would be bargaining for "advisory" purposes only, with the ultimate decision on wages and hours still remaining in the hands of a national board.

Planning, so de Toledano told himself and his fellow disputants, must lead to compelled labor service and to dictated consumption — and ultimately to silencing any journalist or book writer or public speaker who threatened to be persuasive enough to cause a rebellion against the planners. In reaching this conclusion de Toledano found himself in agreement with Hayek's *Road to Serfdom;* and he notes that the records of the seminars in which he participated might have served as an appendix to that volume. The seminars had not talked about the value of freedom, but accepting the premise that freedom is the natural desire of mankind, they had let simple logic take the conversations from there.

The Question of Faith

At this midway spot in his book, however, de Toledano departs from any dependence on what he might call "mere logic." As he walks the *via dolorosa* from 1948 on he is looking, not "merely" for freedom, but for a sign from the cosmos that freedom has other-worldly sanction. Mr. de Toledano was absorbed by the Hiss-Chambers case, which he covered for his magazine, *Newsweek*. Part of his absorption derived from the unfolding of sinister spy work by agents of the Soviet, but as de Toledano listened to the testimony of Whittaker Chambers he became less and less interested in Chambers, the ex-Communist, and more and more interested in Chambers, the religious Quaker.

Chambers was the catalyst that led to a preoccupation with the question of faith. In a penultimate chapter, "The Experience of God," de Toledano tells of "hearing the Voice that is no voice," of being touched by a fleeting visitation of grace that "cannot really be put into words." And having experienced his "Damascene" moment, de Toledano is suddenly impatient

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with all his new-found allies in the conservative camp.

Personally, I have no quarrel with de Toledano for insisting that freedom must be grounded in a metaphysic which has the force of a religious illumination. I have never "heard a Voice that is no voice," but I have the intuition that human life is sacred, and that my rights as a sacred entity depend less on Congress than on the natural law which Congress should be at pains to discern. My own belief in God is founded on a certainty that a structured universe which shows purpose at work cannot be interpreted as a big, blooming accident. And the very idea of purpose implies freedom. But if I can join with de Toledano in his feeling that individual rights must have a sanction beyond mere whimsical preference, I cannot follow him in his rigorous separation of sheep from goats in the conservative – or libertarian – camp. At times he even seems to be telling us that salvation depends on one public figure, the Quaker, Richard Nixon, which is assuredly an "indispensable man" theory that Nixon himself would reject.

Unorganized Conservatism

When de Toledano broke with American liberalism (he could not abide the modern "liberal's" desire to solve everything by turning it over to the State) he found "many doors" closed to him. But his defection to the camp of the conservatives did not provide any open sesame to "program and certainty." The conservatives demonstrated "historical peevishness." They had their "King Charles' heads," their habit of dispersing their energies in futile "opposition to public education, or to government construction of highways." They got lost in "antifluoridation, the notion that Justice Frankfurter headed the nation's 'secret government,' mental health in Alaska, the abolition of the income tax, etc." All of this seemed somewhat negative to de Toledano, who was looking for something more inspiring in his list of political and social priorities than a resounding battle over the fluoridation of the water supply of New York City.

Since I have my own list of priorities in which the question of fluoridation ranks considerably lower than, say, the coercion by the State of farmers who object to compulsory crop limitation, I can sympathize with Mr. de Toledano's own peevishness against "historical peevishness." But when he implies that a whole host of his comrades-in-arms (he lists Frank Chodorov, Frank S. Meyer, Forrest Davis, Russell Kirk, William F. Buckley, James Burnham, and

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this reviewer among them) makes no relevant contact with the contemporary world because of alleged lack of "program and certainty," he is surely way off base. He seems intent on scoring off Chodorov and Meyer and the rest because they are not unduly preoccupied with problems of religion in their writings. But some of the men he names don't feel adequate to a prolonged discussion of the faith that animates their programmatic thrusts. Mr. de Toledano talks of "the significance of Nixon's Quaker roots," and he tells of seeing "in Whittaker Chambers and his family that quality of faith and serenity which had warmed me as a boy." He says nothing on the other hand, of Frank Chodorov's essay, "A Jew Comes to God." He says nothing of William Buckley's Catholicism, or Frank Meyer's quest for a "non-utilitarian" sanction for freedom.

Mr. de Toledano is a poet, and he has the poet's delight in a phraseology that must seem mystical to some people. Without criticizing his preferences, one must call to his attention that it does not necessarily imply a mean spirit when a writer on economics or politics uses the language of logic rather than the language of metaphor. The main defect of Mr. de Toledano's book, as it must seem to a reader whose own preference as a writer is to deal with politics and social affairs in terms of analysis, is its implied contempt for economists and political scientists as such. Mr. de Toledano is quite right in arguing that economists and political scientists must come to terms with the universe as a condition of understanding the relation of their own specialties to the scheme of things entire. But one cannot forever be discussing the universe when one is talking about union coercions, or the separation of the powers, or the effect of the progressive income tax on investment. Faith must sometimes be taken on faith.

Mr. de Toledano is afraid that both East and West are moving down different roads to the same goal, "toward a world neither capitalist nor socialist – a world in which power resides in those who control the means of production but do not own them." He counsels the "Disraelian approach" to stemming the "wave of the future," and calls for "dikes, breakwaters, and sand walls" to keep the wave from drowning us. But this is metaphor. What dikes, what breakwaters, what sand walls? Mr. de Toledano, in lamenting his generation's lack of faith, should also lament its lack of specificity. It is a lack to which he should turn his attention now that his own problem of faith is solved. ◆

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Back of the beating hammer
By which the steel is wrought,
Back of the workshop's clamor
The seeker may find the Thought –
The Thought that is ever master
Of iron and steam and steel,
That rises above disaster
And tramples it under heel!

The drudge may fret and tinker
Or labor with lusty blows,
But back of him stands the Thinker,
The clear-eyed man who knows;
For into each plow or saber,
Each piece and part and whole,
Must go the Brains of Labor,
Which gives the work a soul!

Back of the motors humming,
Back of the bells that sing,
Back of the hammers drumming,
Back of the cranes that swing,
There is the eye which scans them
Watching through stress and strain,
There is the Mind which plans them–
Back of the brawn, the Brain!

Might of the roaring boiler,
Force of the engine's thrust,
Strength of the sweating toiler –
Greatly in these we trust.
But back of them stands the Schemer,
The Thinker who drives things through;
Back of the Job – the Dreamer
Who's making the dream come true!

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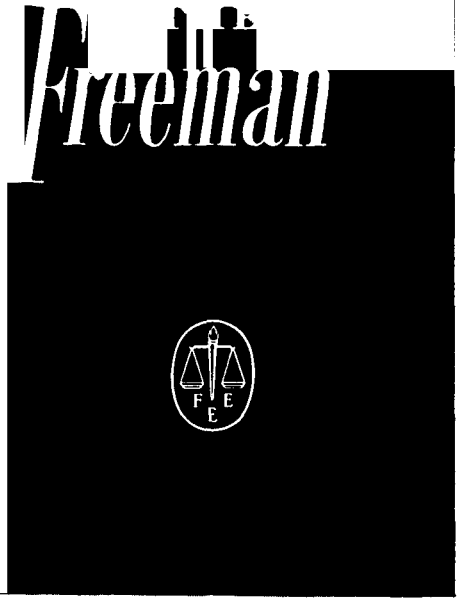

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